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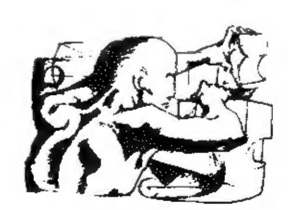
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PREFACE

The collected studies here reproduced deal mainly with questions of education, literature and culture in the Byzantine world; even those in the section headed 'History' start from a text. A good historian would have started from a problem. But I was trained as a classical scholar and still earn my living as one. The philological approach comes naturally to me.

But I have not been concerned exclusively with texts. Several of the studies deal with prosopography, with institutions, with changes in the mentality of society. For intellectual and cultural history is a part of history as a whole. And the study of texts is only a means of approach to problems concerning people in society, the structure in which they are organised, their values and their ideals.

It was above all in the years of the Second World War that I was led gradually from the more traditional interests of the classical scholar towards the study of the Greek world of the Middle Ages. Most of my war service was spent in the lands of the former Byzantine Empire, and I grew more and more aware how deep a mark it had left on the societies which succeeded it in Italy, in the Balkans, and in the Middle East. From there I went on to reflect how much western Europe, the Slav world, and the world of Islam owe to the Byzantines, with their twin heritage from Greco-Roman civilisation and from that of the Fertile Crescent, as embodied in the Christian tradition, a heritage which they modified and restructured for their own purposes.

Sweeping generalisations at this level are an agreeable pastime, but of little use unless supported by a body of evidence and a detailed study of particular problems and particular cases. The present papers were intended as contributions to such a detailed study.

It was difficult to know what to reproduce and what to omit. Some of what I have written has been refuted or made obsolete by the work of the scholars, and so eliminated itself. Much of the rest will no doubt go the same way in the course of time. In the end it was sometimes considerations of length which determined the inclusion or rejection of particular items. Perhaps some of those rejected may be reproduced on a later occasion, together with further studies which, if I am fortunate, I shall continue to publish from time to time. There is no lack of material to work upon.

The conventions used by different journals for the transliteration of Greek names vary. In the index each name is included in the form in which it first appears in this volume, even if in later items it appears in a different form. I hope that readers will bear with me when what appears in the index as Eustathios sometimes figures in the text as Eustathius, and so on.

Thanks are due to Mrs Eileen Turner and Mr Liam Gallagher, both of Variorum, to the former for encouraging me to prepare these collected studies, to the latter for much help and advice in getting them ready for reproduction.

ROBERT BROWNING

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BYZANTINE HISTORY

I

A NOTE ON THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453

Since Edward Gibbon wrote his moving account of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, many new sources have come to light (1). 19th century scholars, in particular the Mordtmanns, father and son, Dethier, Krause, and Paspatis, devoted immense labour to the study of these sources, and the fruits of their work were summarised more than a generation ago in English by Pears (2) and in French by Schlumberger (3). The present study is the work of a humble gleaner in the field.

British Museum Additional manuscript 34060 is a collection of church canons and other theological and historical texts in Greek, mainly dealing with or bearing on the relations between the Eastern and Western churches in the 11th century and later. Several of these, incidentally, appear to be anecdota. The manuscript is a composite, the greater part being on paper and written in the 15th century by several hands, but 69 folios towards the end (fol. 511-579) being part of a 12th century manuscript on vellum. One of the 14th century scribes, Georgios Drazinos, has added a colophon on the last folio of the 12th century portion stating that the manuscript was completed by him in July, Indiction 1, 6946 = A. D. 1438. Fol. 1-11 are not part of the original manuscript, whose foliation in a 15th century hand and whose quire signatures begin on the present fol. 12. They are, however, apparently contemporary with the rest of the manuscript.

(1) For a list of the sources now available and not known to Gibbon, cf. *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, IV, 887-888. Some of these are extremely difficult of access, having been published only in Dethier's four volumes in the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* (n^os^ 19-22), of which the first two were withdrawn after publication, while the other two were never published at all.

(2) E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, London, 1903.

(3) G. Schlumberger, *Le siège, la prise et le sac de Constantinople par les Turcs en* 1453, Paris, 1915.

The manuscript, or at any rate fol. 1-11, was in Crete in the 16th century. On fol. 1 is written a copy of a letter from Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the clergy of Crete, and dated May, Indiction 4 (= 1501 or 1516). And on the margins of fol. 10 are noted the deaths of two abbots of the monastery of St. Mary τοῦ Ἀγκαράθου, on 15th September 1559 and 10th January 1579: this monastery, near Candia, was one of the largest in Crete (1). The contents of the manuscript would be of particular interest in Crete about the time of the Council of Florence, and there is a strong presumption that it was written in Crete. The scribe Georgios Drazinos is not unknown (2), but there is no clear evidence — other than this manuscript — associating him with any particular place. It is probably a mere coincidence that his one literary work was published by a Cretan scholar working in Venice, Ioannes Nathanael, in 1574 (3)

(1) Cf. *Creta Sacra, sive de Episcopis utriusque ritus Graeci et Latini in insula Creta... authore Flaminio Cornelio* (= Corner), *senatore Veneto*, Venice, 1755, vol. I, p. 221. Another manuscript which can be identified as having belonged to it is cod. Marc. Venet. 43 = Nan. 75, cf. MINGARELLI, *Graeci codices manuscripti apud Nanios patricios Venetos asservati*, Bologna, 1784, p. 152.

(2) He was possessor of cod. Venet. Nan. 47, containing ascetical works (cf. C. CASTELLANI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum qui in bibliothecam D. Marci Venetiarum inde ab anno 1740 ad haec usque tempora inlati sunt*, vol. I, 1895, p. 90). He was also author or editor of item 91 in the London manuscript, the answer of Ioasaph, protosyncellus, to canonical questions of Georgios Drazinos, incip. *Ἀποδέχομαί σε τῆς σπουδῆς* (fol. 465-469). This work also appears as item 3 in cod. Venet. Marc. 556 (cf. A. M. ZANETTI and A. BONGIOVANNI, *Graec. D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum per titulos digesta*, Venice, 1740, p. 294). It is no doubt to be identified with the *Ἀποκρίσεις ἀναγκαιόταται τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάσαφ, μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου, πρός τινα Γεώργιον ἱερέα Δραζῆνον, ἄνδρα τῷ ὄντι θεοσεβέστατον*, printed as an appendix to the vernacular translation of the liturgy by Ioannes Nathanael at Venice in 1574 (cf. E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique, 15e et 16e siècle* vol. II, p. 201-205; I have been unable to inspect a copy of this book, which is very rare). The Ioasaph in question is therefore the predecessor of Marcus Eugenicus in the see of Ephesus (cf. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus* i. 691-692). It must have been written, to judge by the title in the manuscripts, before Ioasaph was appointed Metropolitan of Ephesus, i.e. before the translation of the Metropolitan Joseph to the Patriarchate of Constantinople on 21st May 1416 (cf. LE QUIEN, *op. cit.* i. 306).

(3) Ioannes Nathanael was a Cretan, apparently from Rhethymnon (cf. J. VELOUDO, *Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετίᾳ*, Venice, 1872, p. 170; letter to Gabriel Severus, Bishop of Philadelphia, reprinted by E. LEGRAND,

On fol. 1v of the manuscript, written in brownish ink in a clear 15th century hand, appears the following note:

Ἔτ(ει) ͵αυνγ', ἰουνί(ου) κθ' ἡμέρα ϛη', ἦλθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καράβια τρία κρητικὰ, τοῦ σγούρου, τοῦ ὑαληνᾶ, καὶ τοῦ φιλομάτου· λέγοντες ὅτι εἰς τὴν κθ' τοῦ μαίου μηνὸς, τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας ἡμέρα τρίτη, ὥρα γ' τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐσέβησαν οἱ ἀγαρηνοὶ εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, τὸ φωσάτον τοῦ τούρκου τζαλαπῆ μεεμὲτ, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἐπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κυρ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν δράγασιν καὶ Παλαιολόγον. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὖν μεγάλη θλῖψις καὶ πολλὶς κλαυθμὸς εἰς τὴν κρήτην διὰ τὸ θληβερὸν μήνυμα ὅπερ ἦλθε, ὅτι χεῖρον τούτου οὐ γέγονεν οὔτε γεννήσεται. καὶ κ(ύριο)ς ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἐλεήσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς τῆς φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀπειλῆς.

TRANSLATION

In the year 1453, June 29th, a Friday, there arrived from Constantinople three Cretan ships, those of Sguros, of Hyalinas, and of Philomates, bringing news that on May 29th, St. Theodosia's day, a Tuesday, at the third hour of the day, the Agarenes, the army of the Turk Chelebi Mehemet, entered Constantinople; and they said that they killed the emperor, the Lord Constantine Dragases Palaiologos. And there was great tribulation and much lamentation in Crete because of the sad news that had come, for nothing worse than this has happened, nor will happen. And may the Lord God have mercy on us, and deliver us from his terrible menaces.

NOTES

l. 1: For dating by the years of the Christian era in Venetian-ruled Crete instead of by the Byzantine *annus mundi*, cf. GARDTHAUSEN, *Griechische Paläographie*², II. 453.

op. cit. II. 204 from Lami, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, vol. XV, Florence, 1740, pp. 13-14). He wrote cod. Paris. 831 in Gortyn in February 1541, and cod. Sinait. 117 in Cnossos in 1544. He possessed many manuscripts, which were captured by pirates from a ship bound for Crete (cf. *Pauli Manutii Epistolarum libri* XII, Leipzig, 1698, pp. 248-250).

l. 4 : On St. Theodosia, martyred at Constantinople on 29th May 726, cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. 7, 1867, pp. 64-85.

l. 5 : On *'Αγαρηνοί* = Turks cf. Gy. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* II (Magyar-görög Tanulmányok 21), Budapest, 1943, p. 62; Phrantzes, 3. 11, p. 303. 19 ed. Bonn.

l. 7 : On the form *τζαλαπῆ* cf. MORAVCSIK, *op. cit.* 262.

l. 7 : On the form *μεεμέτ* cf. MORAVCSIK, *op. cit.* 176.

Thre were three Cretan ships among the nine or ten which guarded the boom across the entrance to the Golden Horn. Though the main sources are at variance on the exact composition of the squadron, they agree on this point (1). Two of these seem to have remained behind from a larger fleet which had arrived from Crete with supplies for the city in November 1452 (2), and of which the majority had left again on 26th February 1453 (3). Nicolò Barbaro, the Venetian ship's doctor, gives the names of the masters of the three Cretan vessels guarding the boom as 'ser Zuan Venier da Candia', 'el Filamati de Candia', and 'el Guro de Candia', and their tonnage as 800, 800, and 700 *botte* respectively (1). We recognise in Barbaro's list the names of two of the three captains whose return to Crete is recorded in the London manuscript, viz. Filamati =*Φιλομάτης*, and Guro — *Σγοῦρος*. The Christian name of Filamati is given by Barbaro p. 59 as Antonio, and it is tempting to see in him the 'Antonios, captain of the merchant ships', who was in command of the boom squadron (2).

These vessels remained at their post throughout the siege, in face of a Turkish fleet many times more numerous (3). And neither the great Turkish cannon in Pera nor the Turkish ships transported overland from Diplokionion (Beşiktaş?) to the upper part of the Golden Horn succeeded in making them withdraw. When the city was finally captured, the sailors of the Turkish fleet at once went ashore to join in the sack, and many of the ships in the Golden Horn profited by the occasion to escape. Among these were three Cretan vessels, under the command of Venier, Filamati, and another (4). These are doubtless the three ships from the boom. Though Venier escaped Wrom Constantinople, his ship seems to have met with a mishap on the voyage home, since he is listed by the methodical Barbaro (p. 60) among the 'nobeli morti, da poi la prexa de la zitade de Costantinopoli'. Filamati and Guro we now know to have reached Crete in safety a month later. They made for

(1) Cf. Georgios PHRANTZES, *Chronicon*, 3, 3, p. 238, 11 f. ed. Bonn. *Ἦσαν δὲ νῆες τοιαῦται, ἐκ μὲν Λιγουρίας τρεῖς, ἐκ δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἤτοι Καστελίας μία, ἐκ τοῦ †Γάλλου τῆς Προβεντζίας . . . †, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης τρεῖς, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λέγομένης Χάνδαξ ἡ μία καὶ αἱ δύο ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας, πᾶσαι εἰς παράταξιν πολεμικὴν καλῶς ἡτοιμασμέναι*; CRITOBULOS, *Historiae*, l. 24, 2 ff. : *Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁλκάδας μεγάλας περί τε τὴν ἅλυσιν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ μεγάλου λιμένος ἀντιπρώρους βύζην ὥρμιζον, καὶ τριήρεις μακρὰς περὶ αὐτὰς, ὡς ταύτῃ τὸν ἔσπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κωλύσαντες. ἔτυχον δὲ τότε παροῦσαι καὶ τριήρεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐξ Ἐνετικαὶ, οὐκ ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χρείαν ἰδίαν, καὶ ὁλκάδες μεγάλαι ἐκ Κρήτης ἀφιγμέναι κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἃς ἀξιώσει κατέσχον, πείσαντες παραμεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ*; Leonardus Chiensis, M. P. G. 159, 930 c « cinctum catena portum et navibus (*manibus* in Migne is a misprint) rostratis bene armatis, Genuensium septem, Cretensium tribus colligatum »; Tetaldi in *Chronique de Charles VII, par Jean Chartier*, publiée par Vallet de Viriville, Paris, 1858, t. III, p. 23, 'Au port, pour deffendre la chaisne, il y avoit des chrestiens trente nefs, et neuf galées ; c'est à sçavoir deux subtiles, trois marchandes vénitiennes, trois de l'empereur, et une autre de Messire Jehan Justinian, bon Genevois aux payes et aux gages de l'empereur' (for Tetaldi ships from Venetian Crete are Venetian) ; Nicolo Barbaro, Giornale dell' assedio di Costantinopoli, ed. E. Cornet, Vienna, 1856, p. 20.

(2) BARBARO, *Op. cit.* p. 3. 'E in questo mexe vene da Candia nave oto carghe de malvasia per dar da viver pur a questa zitade. »

(3) BARBARO, *Op. cit.* p. 13. 'Adì 26 fevrer de note, si scampa fuora del porto de Costantinopoli Piero Davanzo con la sua nave, per andar a Veniexia, e ancora in quela note si scampò nave sie de Chandia, le qual andò in Chandia carghe de pessàmi ».

(1) BARBARO, *Op. cit.* p. 20.

(2) PHRANTZES, 3, 4, p. 255, 4 ff. ed. Bonn : *Τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ καπετανίῳ τῶν ἐμπορικῶν τριήρεων ἐδόθη φυλάττειν τὰς τριήρεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς νῆας τὰς ἐντὸς τῆς ἁλύσεως.*

(3) Cf. PHRANTZES, 3, 3, p. 240 ed. Bonn, DUCAS ch. 38, p. 268, 1 ed. Bonn, LEONARDUS CHIENSIS, M. P. G. 159, 930B-C, CRITOBULOS 1,22,2, CHALCONDYLAS 8, p. 384, 3 ed. Bonn, etc.

(4) BARBARO, *Op. cit.*, p. 59. 'Poi si se leva la galia sutil de misser Gabriel Trivixan, lui si romaxe in tera in man de turchi ; la galia de Candia patron misser Zacaria Grioni el Cavalier, quela si fo prexa, poi driedo queste galie si levò tre nave de Candia, le qual son, ser Zuan Venier, ser Antonio Filamati el galina, e tuti andasemo in conserva nave e galie, per infina fuora del streto, con una buora a più de dodexe mia per ora.' Zacharia Grioni had taken part in Coco's attempt to set fire to the Turkish ships in the Golden Horn, and so was probably not serving in the boom squadron.

Euboea first, (1) and possibly called at Argos or other Venetian ports in the Peloponnese before returning to Crete.

What of the third ship, and its master Hyalinas? He makes one other appearance in the record of history, in March 1445, when Georgios Phrantzes takes a passage with him from Selymbria to Carystus (2). Now it is not the custom of Phrantzes to mention by name the masters of the various vessels in which he sails. Indeed, he seems to name only one other, Antonio Rizzo the Venitian, in whose ship he returned from Trebizond to Constantinople on 14th September 1452 (3). We know from other sources that Rizzo's ship was sunk by a shot from the great Turkish cannon in the fortress of Rumeli-Hissar on 26th November of the same year, and its hapless master captured by the Turks and impaled (4). This event, says Barbaro, brought about a state of war between the Turks and the Venetians. Is the reason why Phrantzes, writing years later, mentions so irrelevantly the name of the Cretan captain Antonios Hyalinas that he too took part in some striking exploit connected with the siege and capture of Constantinople? It cannot be proved, but it is not unlikely, since we now know from the London manuscript that he was present at the capture of the city.

(1) Cf. Chalcondylas, 8, p. 400, 1 ed. Bonn : *Αἱ δὲ τῶν Οὐενέτων τριήρεις λύσασαι ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, καὶ τριταῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς Εὔβοιαν.*

(2) Phrantzes 2, 19, p. 196, 15 ed. Bonn : *Καὶ ἐμβάντος μου εἰς νῆα τοῦ ἐκ Κρήτης Ὑαλινᾶ Ἀντωνίου, εἰς τὴν τῆς Εὐρίπου Κάρυστον ἐπαφῆκέ με.*

(3) Phrantzes, 3. 2, p. 217. 8 ed Bonn.

(4) Barbaro, *Op. cit.* p. 2. 'El primo colpo che trè la bombarda grossa de questo castelo afondò la nave de Antonio Rizo che vigne de mar mazor, che non volse calar, carga de orzo per soccorso de Costantinopoli ; questo fo de 26 novembre 1452 ; el patron de de quela si fo piado in aqua, e quelo fo mandado in Andrinopoli al signor turco, e quel fo messo in prexon, e in cavo de zorni 14 el signor el fexe impalar suxo un palo' ; Ducas ch. 35, p. 248, 8 ff. ed. Bonn : *Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πασκεσὲν πολιχνίῳ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας κατερχομένης νηὸς ἐκ τοῦ στομίου μεγάλης τῶν Βενετικῶν, Ῥύτζος ὁ ναύαρχος τοὔνομα, καὶ μὴ χαλάσας τὰ ἱστία, πέτραν ἀκοντίσαντες οἱ τοῦ κάστρου ὑπερμεγέθη τὴν ναῦν διέρρηξε, καὶ εἰσδυομένῃ τῷ βυθῷ ὁ ναύαρχος σὺν λοιποῖς τριάκοντα ἐν ἀκατίῳ ἐμβάντες ἐξῆλθον ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ... ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τοὺς πάντας ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἐν τῷ πάλῳ διὰ τοῦ ἀφεδρῶνος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρίψαι, καὶ ἀτάφους ἀφεῖναι, οὓς καὶ ἴδον ἐγὼ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐκεῖ διαγομένου μου.*

We are told that the crew of a Cretan ship guarded the wall in the neighbourhood of the Porta Horaea (1). We are also told that on 29th May, when all the rest of the city was already in Turkish hands, the Cretan sailors in the tower or towers of Basil, Leo, and Alexios continued to defend their position for several hours, and refused to surrender ; they finally forced the Sultan to grant them an honourable capitulation, and to allow them to leave the city in their own ship and with all their property (2). Do both these stories refer to the same ship's company or not? The Porta Horaea must, from the order of Phrantzes' narrative, have been in the Golden Horn wall. It has been identified variously with the Porta Neorii = Bagçe kapısı and the Porta Hebraica = Balık bazar kapısı (3), while Van Millingen suggests that it may be the same as the Porta Eugenii (4). The tower or towers are much harder to identify.. Van Millingen accepts as probable Paspatis' suggestion that a tower by the eastern side of the entrance to the harbour of Kontoskalion, on the Marmara shore, bearing an inscription commemorating repairs carried out by Leo the Wise and his brother Alexander, is that defended to the end by the heroic Cretans (5). This would imply that they are not the same men as those guarding the walls by the Porta Horaea at the other side of the city. Pears, while apparently accepting Paspatis' identification in a footnote, believes that the sailors from the Porta Horaea

(1) Phrantzes, 3, 4, p. 254, 19 ff. ed. Bonn : *Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πύλης τῆς λεγομένης ὡραίας φυλάττειν ὡρίσθησαν οἱ ναῦται καὶ οἱ ναύκληροι καὶ κυβερνῆται, οὓς εἶχεν ἡ ναῦς ἡ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης.*

(2) Phrantzes, 3, 8, p. 287, 20 ff. ed. Bonn : *Καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς πάντων ἐγένοντο, ἄνευ δὲ τῶν πύργων τῶν λεγομένων Βασιλείου Λέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξίου ἐν οἷς εἱστήκεισαν οἱ ναῦται ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης· αὐτοὶ γὰρ γενναίως ἐμάχοντο μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἕκτης καὶ ἑβδόμης ὥρας καὶ πολλοὺς Τούρκους ἐθανάτωσαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος βλέποντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν δεδουλωμένην πᾶσαν αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἤθελον δουλωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔλεγον ἀποθανεῖν κρεῖττον ἢ ζῆν. Τοῦρκος δέ τις τῷ ἀμηρᾷ ἀναφορὰν ποιήσας περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρίας, προσέταξεν ἵνα κατέλθωσι μετὰ συμβάσεως καὶ ὦσιν ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ ναῦς αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀποσκευὴ ἣν εἶχον. καὶ οὕτως γενομένων πάλιν μόλις ἐκ τοῦ πύργου τούτους ἔπεισαν ἀπελθεῖν.*

(3) Cf. Oberhummer, *R.E.* IV. 980. 52-60.

(4) A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople : the Walls of the City and adjoining Historical Sites*, London, 1899, p. 222 ff.

(5) *Op. cit.* p. 186 ff.

took refuge in the towers as the Turks poured in (1). This theory is improbable on topographical grounds. The matter cannot be settled on the present evidence. But it seems methodologically sounder not to postulate more unknown Cretan ships in Constantinople than we need. Phrantzes, it should be noted, speaks of the Cretan defenders of the towers as *οἱ ναῦται ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης* (2), implying that he had mentioned them before. The reference can only be to the passage concerning the wall near the Porta Horaea. If we accept that only one ship's company is involved, then we must renounce the identification of the towers as near the Kontoskalion. It rests on very slender evidence (in any case there were towers every sixty yards for fourteen miles of wall, and we know the names of only a very few); and it is unlikely that the Cretans would be far from their ship, which must have been inside the boom, and hence nowhere near the Kontoskalion.

Be that as it may, we know of only one other Cretan ship — apart from those at the boom — which left Constantinople immediately after its capture, namely that whose crew fought on in the towers long after all other resistance had ended. And we are justified in identifying it with the ship of Hyalinas, mentioned in the London manuscript. It will have caught up with those from the boom in the Sea of Marmara, at Tenedos, where there was a Venetian force (3), or in Euboea.

There is a curious satisfaction in establishing, five hundred years after the event, that these gallant and resolute men succeeded in returning to their homes.

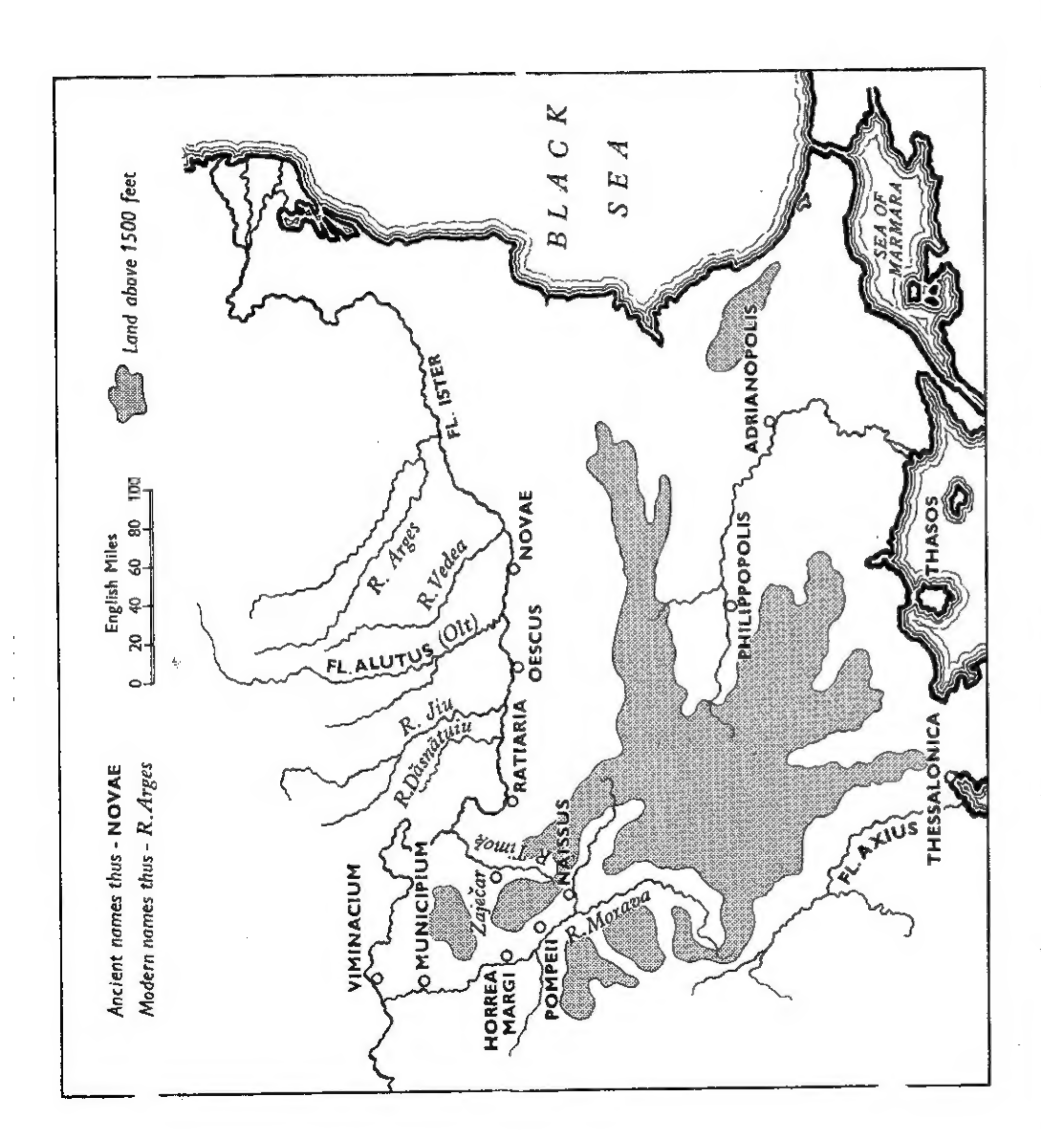
University College, London.

(1) *Op. cit.* p. 363.
(2) Phrantzes 3. 8, p. 287. 20 ed. Bonn.
(3) Cf. Ubertini Pusculi Brixiensis Constantinopolis IV. 1026 ff., in J. A. Ellisen, *Analecten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1857:

In Tenedi portu nam tempestatibus actae
stabant bis denae naves, quas Gnosia tellus,
quae Venetum imperium Rhadamanthi legibus audit
omissis, plenas frumento et frugibus, inde
bis quinas Veneti mittebant Marte triremes
instructas, urbi auxilio Danaisque; sed omnes
mensem unum adverso tenuerunt sidere portum.

NOTE ADDITIONNELLE

La notice, publiée plus haut, p. 381, du ms. du British Museum, n'est pas inédite. Elle avait été publiée pour la première fois par Mgr Gennadios, métropolite d'Hélioupolis, *ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟΥ Μ. ΑΡΑΜΠΑΤΖΟΓΛΟΥ μητροπολίτου Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι ἐπίσημα καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ ἔγγραφα καὶ ἄλλα μνημεῖα σχετικὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, μέρος πρῶτον, ἐν Κων/πόλει*, 1933, p. 108, n. 3. J'y relève quelques variantes comme *ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ* (au lieu de *ϛη′*)*τοῦ σγούρου ϑαλινᾶς καὶ τοῦ φιλομάτου, δραγάσιν* (*sic*, au lieu de *δράγασιν*), *πολὺς* (mais le *sic* qui suit ce mot prouve que l'orthographe en était incorrecte). Ici, comme ailleurs, M. Browning a mieux copié ou respecté son texte. Mgr Gennadios, d'ailleurs (p. 108, n. 2), a mal lu le nom du copiste *Γεωργίου τοῦ Δραζίνουτα καὶ θύτου*, au lieu (sans doute) de *Δραζίνου τά(χα) καί*. Voir aussi N. B. Tomadakis, *L'Hellénisme contemporain*, 2e série, 7e année, fasc. hors série, Athènes, 29 mai 1953, p. 57 et note 1 (trad. française, et référence au livre de Mgr Arabadzoglou, cité *en français* avec date inexacte, 1935 au lieu de 1933). (H. G.)



II

Where was Attila's Camp?

Many scholars who have studied Priscus' account (frg. 8, pp. 289 to 323 in L. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, vol. 1, to the pages and lines of which reference will be made throughout) of his visit to the court of Attila in summer 449,[1] have concluded that the Hun king's camp was on the North-eastern part of the Hungarian plain, between the Theiss and the Körös,[2] and all whose works I have been able to consult have stated, or implied by their narrative, that it was somewhere in Hungary.

That Attila usually made his headquarters in the plain of Hungary is true and early became a commonplace.[3] It is perhaps as a result of this that scholars have been so ready to assume that in 449 he was there, and have even 'emended' the text of our one and only eye-witness to accord with their views.[4] Let us begin by a fresh examination of Priscus' narrative.

Maximinus and his suite leave Naissus *en route* for the Danube, and not far from the town they fall in with Agintheus, Master of Soldiers in Illyricum, with whom they spend the night (291. 15 ff.). The next morning, before first light, they continue on their way, which takes them through a χωρίον συνηρεφές, full of twists and turns, in which they completely lose their sense of direction (291. 23 ff.). Later they proceed through a πέδιον ἑλῶδες until they reach the Danube, across which they are ferried by βάρβαροι πορθμεῖς ἐν σκάφεσι μονοξύλοις (292. 1 ff.). They march some seventy stades on the North of the river, and then camp for the night (292. 12 ff.).

Now the road from Naissus down the Morava valley to Viminacium via Pompeii, Horrea Margi, and Municipium—the road which a traveller to Eastern Pannonia would follow—is quoted in the Antonine Itinerary (pp. 133 ff. Wess.) as 119 Roman miles in length. The distance as the crow flies is about 100 English miles, so we can accept the figure of the

Itinerary as approximately correct. This is surely much too long a distance for the Roman party (consisting of Maximinus, Priscus, Rusticius, Edeco, Orestes, Bigilas, and their entourage, plus five Hun deserters,[5] to cover in two days, of which the first was partly spent conferring with Agintheus, while of the second enough time was left after the crossing of the Danube to push on nine or ten miles on the other side. Furthermore, the description of the difficulties of the route does not fit the road from Naissus to Viminacium. The Morava valley, from the confluence of the Nišava to the Danube, is wide, open, and straight. There are no defiles, no confusing sinuosities. A further point is that Priscus, who seems to have been interested in rivers (*cf.* 300. 1 ff., 303. 14 ff.), would scarcely have failed to mention that the whole of his two days' journey lay along the bank of a stream so imposing by its magnitude as the middle and lower Morava.

The nearest point on the Danube to Naissus is Ratiaria (now Arčar, on the bend of the river South of Vidin [6]), distant just under 60 miles as the crow flies, and linked with Naissus by a road built in the time of Augustus.[7] The distance is such as could reasonably be covered by the party in two days. Moreover, this road (which must have followed in its early part approximately the line of the present road and railway from Niš to Zaječar) makes a rapid ascent shortly after leaving Niš, followed by an equally rapid descent into the upper Timok valley, and a further ascent over the ridge which forms the present Yugoslav–Bulgarian frontier. This pass once surmounted, its descent to the Danube is relatively gentle. Priscus' description therefore tallies with the road to Ratiaria much better than with that to Viminacium.

Continuing his narrative, Priscus says that the Roman party reach Attila's temporary encampment on the next day (292. 23 ff.), and later, setting off ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα (299. 25), travel for some seven days (301. 21) until they reach the village in which the court of the Hun monarch is established (303. 14 ff.). During this journey they cross a number of rivers, on the three largest of which, the Δρήκων, the Τίγας, and the Τιφήσας (300. 2) they find boats, while the others are crossed on portable rafts which the Huns carry in their carts (300. 6). There have been many attempts to identify these rivers,[8] the outcome of which is suspension of judgment.[9] The Τιφήσας *may* be the Temes, and the Τίγας *may* (though here the probability is less) be the Theiss. These identifications depend mainly on the

assumption that Attila's camp was in Hungary, and so cannot be used as arguments in favour of that assumption.

Let us suppose that Maximinus and his party crossed the Danube at Ratiaria, landing not in the plain of Hungary, but in Wallachia. They then proceed ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς χώρας for one day,[10] and continue for seven days in a more Easterly direction. They will then have to cross a number of rivers, the Dăsnătuiu, the Jiu and its tributaries, the Olt and its tributaries, of which the largest is the Olteț, and possibly the Vede. The ancient names of these rivers are unknown to us, except that of the Olt—Aluta, Ἀλούτας, Alutus.[11] While none of them is navigable in the commercial sense except the Olt, and that only in its last 50 kilometres,[12] several, *e.g.* the Jiu, the Olteț, the Olt, and the Vede, have sufficient water at most times of the year to make it worthwhile maintaining fishing-boats, ferry boats, and other small craft. We may suppose that the Roman party did not move very quickly over country containing so many obstacles; and in any case they had no longer any need to hurry, as they knew that Attila was occupied and would not be accessible to them for some time (299. 27). Their journey's end would therefore be somewhere in central Wallachia, probably East of the Olt. Wallachia is not so flat as the plain of Hungary, but it is certainly a πέδιον compared with the high mountains to the North and West. Priscus' account of this part of the journey, then, seems quite as compatible with the location of Attila's camp in Wallachia as with the more usual location in Hungary. It cannot therefore be used as an argument to support either view against the other.

Let us now glance at Priscus' story of the return journey of the Romans. They leave Attila's court in company with the Hun noble Berichus (320. 22), they spend at least two days on the journey to the Danube (320. 29), Berichus is ἥσυχος καὶ ἐπιτήδειος until the party crosses the river (321. 7), when suddenly his character changes, and he demands back the horse which he has given to Maximinus (321. 11) and shows his ill-will in other ways. They continue their journey through Philippopolis to Adrianople (321. 20), where they decide to ask Berichus the cause of his rancour (321. 22 ff.).

For the wary reader this passage is very difficult to reconcile with the view that the Romans were on their way from somewhere in Hungary. There is no mention of a single place before Philippopolis, though the party must have passed through Naissus and Serdica, to name only two large towns.

Throughout the long journey the normally shrewd, observant, and circumstantial historian seems to have noticed nothing worthy of comment. And are we to suppose that, once on the Roman bank of the Danube, the ambassadors tolerated the unconscionable sulking of their Hun companion all the way from Viminacium to Adrianople (453 Roman miles according to the Antonine Itinerary, pp. 133–7 Wess.) before having it out with him? Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the return journey was in fact a comparatively short one, and that Philippopolis was the first place of any note through which the party passed.

A road runs Northwards from Philippopolis over the Troyan pass to Melta [13] (the modern Loveč), where it divides into two branches reaching the Danube at Oescus and Novae respectively.[14] The Tabula Peutingeriana gives the distance from Oescus to Philippopolis as 78 Roman miles, but this figure is about 20 miles too little.[15] If Attila's camp were actually in central Wallachia, this would be the natural route for the return of the Roman ambassadors, and it fits Priscus' account much better than the usual view that they crossed the Danube in the neighbourhood of Viminacium.

To summarise what must appear at first sight to be a structure of suppositions: Priscus' narrative of the outward and return journeys of Maximinus makes sense if Attila's headquarters were in Wallachia, while it presents considerable difficulties if they were in the Hungarian plain; and his narrative of his movements while in Hun territory is too imprecise to admit of firm conclusions, but is at least as compatible with the former conclusion as with the latter.

In the light of the previous discussion we may now turn to an interesting passage in Jordanes' *Getica* (§ 178), where the Gothic historian relates that when Priscus and his party had crossed the three great rivers and were already near Attila's camp they passed the place 'ubi dudum Vidigoia Gothorum fortissimus Sarmatum dolo occubuit'. Vidigoia was a Visigothic leader of the period before the crossing of the Danube, mentioned elsewhere only in § 43 of the same work. Jordanes' language suggests that he was surprised by Sarmatian raiders in his own territory; but even if he was victim of an ambush in Sarmatian territory, he cannot have been far from home, as the Sarmatians in question are presumably those who lived in the 'Caucalandensis locus', from which they were expelled by Athanarich and the rump of the Visigoths in 376 (Amm. Marcell. 31.4.12). This region is generally believed to have been in Transylvania or Eastern Wallachia.[16] Therefore when the Roman ambassadors had almost reached their journey's end, they were still in or very near former Visigothic territory, and certainly not in the plain of Hungary. Thus this fragment of the lost portion of Priscus' narrative, preserved by Jordanes, supports the hypothesis to which we have been led by an examination of the surviving text of Priscus himself.

If we ask why the embassy did not proceed at once by the shortest route, the obvious answer is that they did not know where Attila was. The Huns lived scattered throughout their extensive empire,[17] and their king spent much of his time on the move. In addition, the Romans had to collect the Hun deserters from Agintheus, who was near Naissus.

To speculate upon the motives which prompted the Scourge of God to establish himself in Wallachia in the summer of 449 is perhaps vain. But there is some evidence that at this time Attila was particularly interested in the Eastern portion of his vast domain. Romulus, the envoy of the Western Romans whom Priscus met at the Hun court, believed that Attila was likely to make an attack on Persia through the Caucasus in the near future (311. 30–314. 16). And Attila's eldest son, Ellac, had recently been sent to govern the Acatziri (229. 1–18), who lived in the region of the Sea of Azov.[18] If Attila was preoccupied with his Eastern subjects—whatever the cause of this preoccupation may have been—it would not have been unreasonable for him to fix his headquarters for the time being on the Eastern side of the Carpathian mountain system, which divided his empire in two by a barrier which could be troublesome to an army of primitive horsemen.

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[1] For the arguments in favour of this date rather than 448 *cf.* E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, pp. 219–21.

[2] *Cf.* L. Schmidt in *Cambridge Mediaeval History* 1. 365; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* 1². 276; Thompson, *op. cit.* 221–2, whether further literature is cited.

[3] *E.g.* Greg. Tur. 2. 6 'Chuni a Pannoniis egressi, ut quidam ferunt, in ipsa Sanctae Paschae vigilia ad Mettensem urbem reliqua depopulando pervenerunt.'

[4] Tomaschek, Melich, Fluss, and others wish to alter Τίγας, the name of a river in Priscus 300. 2, to Τίσας or Τίζας, the Theiss.

[5] *Cf.* Thompson, *op. cit.* 102–3.
[6] *Cf.* Vulić, *RE* IA. 261.
[7] *Cf.* von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 21 (1902), 175.
[8] The same triad is mentioned by Jordanes *Get.* § 178 'Tisia, Tibisiaque et Dricca' and Geogr. Ravenn. 204. 13 'Tisia Tibisia Drica Marisia', both no doubt obtaining their information directly or indirectly from Priscus (though Geogr. Ravenn. quotes as his authorities, besides Jordanes, 'Menelac et Aristarchum, Gothorum philosophos'!). Be that as it may, it is noteworthy that Geogr. Ravenn. makes all three rivers flow into the Danube: it would be difficult, on the Hungarian hypothesis, to find a tributary of the Danube to identify with the Δρήκων.
[9] *Cf.* Tomaschek, *RE* 5. 1696; Patsch, *RE* 5. 1706 (Δρήκων); Fluss, *RE* 6A. 941 (Τίγας) and *ibid.* 6A. 1426 (Τιφήσας); Thompson, *op. cit.* 221–2.
[10] There seems to be nothing in Priscus' text to imply that the whole of their journey was necessarily in a Northerly direction.
[11] *Cf.* Tomaschek, *RE* 1. 1707. The Ἀραβῶν ποταμός of Ptol. 3. 8. 2 is not, as the cartographers generally suppose, the Jiu, but the Drâncea, an insignificant little stream flowing into the Danube almost opposite Vidin. *Cf.* Tomaschek, *RE* 2. 365.
[12] Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana* 25. 312.
[13] *Cf.* Fluss, *RE* 15. 590.
[14] *Cf.* Danoff, *RE* 17. 2034. 8–25.
[15] *Cf.* von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* 190.
[16] Patsch, *RE* 3. 1801, places it in Central Transylvania, near the headwaters of the Târnava Mare and Târnava Mică (German Gross- and Kleinkokel), tributaries of the Máros, and this has been the general view. The same writer in his *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa* III (Sitzungsb. d. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, ph.-h. Kl., 208 (1928) 2. Abhdl.), p. 64, advances arguments for identifying it with the Banater Gebirge, the rugged, mountainous country North of the Danube Gorge. Diculescu, *Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien*, 1923, p. 41, wishes to place the Caucalandensis locus in the region of Buzău, in North-eastern Wallachia, South of the Transylvanian Alpa. The argument of the present article is unaffected by these differences of view.
[17] *Cf.* Thompson, *op. cit.* 177.

[18] *Cf.* Thompson, *op. cit.* 95–7, Tomaschek, *RE* 1. 131.

POSTSCRIPT. Since this note was sent to the press, I have discovered that my conclusions were in part anticipated by two nineteenth-century Russian scholars. Yurii Venelin, in *Drevnie i Nyneshnie Bolgare v Politicheskom, Narodopisnom, Istoricheskom i Religioznom ikh Otnoshenii k Rossiyanam*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1829, pp. 133 ff., points out that the journey from Niš to the neighbourhood of Belgrade could not be accomplished in two days, and concludes that Priscus crossed the Danube near Vidin and that Attila's camp was in "Little Wallachia." A. F. Veltman, in *Attila i Rus' IV: V Veka*, Moscow, 1858, identifies the three mysterious rivers Τιφήσας, Δρήκων, and Τίγας with the Seret, the Pruth, and the Dniester respectively, and locates Attila's camp in the neighbourhood of Kiev.

R. B.

III

THE RIOT OF A.D. 387 IN ANTIOCH

The Role of the Theatrical Claques in the Later Empire

The riot at Antioch in the early spring of A.D. 387 is described in two eye-witness accounts, that of Libanius—in particular *Orations* 19–23—and that of John Chrysostom—in particular the 21 *Homiliae ad populum Antiochenum de statuis*.[1] Consequently, it has often been studied in more or less detail by modern scholars, each approaching it from his own point of view.[2] It might seem that all that could be said has been said. Nevertheless, certain features of the disorders, which have some interest for the social history of the period, have not been adequately dealt with. It is as a contribution to the understanding of these that the present study is written.

First, let us note that the riot is not an isolated event. It falls within a context of manifestations of popular disaffection in the cities of the eastern half of the empire, which is something quite distinct from peasant risings and the endemic brigandage of the countryside under the late Empire.[3] The staff of the governor at Antioch were afraid, when the crowd demonstrated outside his residence, that they would drag him out and kill him, 'as has happened in many places on such occasions'.[4] There were frequent anti-imperial demonstrations in Alexandria, Libanius recalls,[5] and in particular he mentions recent disturbances in which expression was given to popular hostility to Theodosius and support of Maximus.[6] We hear of riots in Constantinople in the summer of 388, when it was falsely rumoured that Theodosius had been defeated by Maximus.[7] In 389 Alexandria was again the scene of disorders, this time with a religious background.[8] In 390 there occurred the famous riot at Thessalonica, followed by the grim blood-bath in the Circus.[9] Shortly before the events at Antioch there had been some kind of popular disturbance at Berytus, in which one of the ringleaders of the Antioch riot is alleged to have taken part.[10] All this points to a state of acute tension, which on the least excuse turned into open rebellion of large sections of the people against established authority.

The course of the riot at Antioch is known in much greater detail than that of any other contemporary civil disturbance. Our principal source is Libanius ; John Chrysostom, for all his eloquence, tells us surprisingly little of what actually took place on the fateful day : but what he does tell us is in full accord with what we learn from Libanius, and thus provides a valuable confirmation of the reliability of the latter's account.

[1] *Homiliae de statuis* of John Chrysostom I shall refer to by number and chapter, and also by page and section of Montfaucon's edition : other works of Chrysostom will be referred to by number and chapter, and by Montfaucon's volume, page, and section. Migne reprints Montfaucon's page numbers.

[2] References to earlier literature are given in R. Goebel, *De Ioannis Chrysostomi et Libanii orationibus quae sunt de seditione Antiochensium*, Diss. Göttingen, 1910. See also E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch*, 164–170 ; E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, 1, 318 ; C. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* 1, 212–233 ; V. Schulze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften, III : Antiocheia* 102–108 ; F. Homes Dudden, *Life and Times of St. Ambrose* 1, 356–369 ; A. Moulard, *Saint Jean Chrysostome, sa vie, son oeuvre* 76–80.

[3] On this brigandage, and its connection with patrocinium, cf. C. Th. 1, 29, 8, of 9th April, 392. A. D. Dmitrev, 'Dvizhenie Latrones kak odna iz Form Klassovoi Borby v Rimskoi Imperii,' *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1951 (4), 61–72, though dealing primarily with the second and third centuries, adduces evidence relevant to our period also.

[4] Liban. *or*. 20, 3. Perhaps he feared the fate of Theophilus, *consularis Syriae* in 353, whom the people of Antioch 'calcibus incessens et pugnis conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpsit', Amm. Marcell. 14, 7, 6. The memory of his assassination was still alive in 387, cf. Liban. *or*. 19, 47. On this incident cf. also Amm. Marcell. 15, 13, 2 ; Liban. *or*. 1, 102, *or*. 46, 30 ; Julian *Misop*. 370c.

[5] Liban. *or*. 19, 4.

[6] It is probably in connection with these disturbances that C. Th. 10, 10, 19 of 2nd March, 387, was published, confirming the *bouleutai* in their possessions and condemning *delatores*. Here, as in Antioch, the *curiales* seem to have been to the fore in the riot.

[7] Socrates *HE* 5, 13 ; Sozomenus 7, 14 ; Ambros. *ep*. 40, 13. In this connection it is interesting to note that John of Nikiu (ed. R. H. Charles, p. 87) speaks of a rumour that Theodosius had been defeated by Maximus before the riot of 387. His chronology is very confused.

[8] Rufin. *HE* 2, 22–7 ; Socrates *HE* 5, 16–17 ; Sozomenus 7, 15 ; Theodoret *HE* 5, 22 ; Eunap. *Vit. Aedes*. 44–5.

[9] Rufin. *HE* 11, 18 ; Sozomenus 7, 25 ; Theodoret *HE* 5, 17, 3 ; Malalas 347, 18, etc.

[10] Liban. *or*. 19, 28.

The immediate cause of the disturbance was the imposition of a tax upon the city, which was made known by the reading of an imperial letter before the *dikasterion*—probably the residence of the *comes Orientis*, forming a part of the imperial palace on the island. Our sources are not very clear about the nature of this tax, and modern authorities have in the main not committed themselves in the matter. Hug,[11] however, implies that it was a *lustralis collatio*, while Güldenpenning and Ifland [12] hold that it must have been an *aurum coronarium*; Hodgkin [13] is inclined to follow their view, and D'Alton [14] states baldly that it was an *aurum coronarium*. The point is of some importance, as the two taxes fell, at any rate in the first instance, upon different sections of the population, the *lustralis collatio* upon the tradesmen and merchants,[15] and the *aurum coronarium* upon the curiales,[16] who were of course landowners. What do the sources say? Theodoret *HE* 5, 20, 1, speaks of an εἰσφορὰ ξένη and a καινὸν τέλος. That it was an altogether new tax can be ruled out, I think; the machinery for raising taxes was too complex to be improvised.[17] And Libanius' words ἧκε τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου γράμματα, πρᾶγμα πάλαι φοβερόν [18] imply that it was some regular levy. Sozomenus 7, 23, has πλέον τι τῶν εἰωθότων φορῶν. Libanius connects the imposition with the *decennalia* of Theodosius and the *quinquennalia* of Arcadius, and the donatives to the army which custom required on these occasions.[19] John Chrysostom speaks of χρυσίον,[20] of an εἰσφορὰ ἀφόρητος εἶναι δοκοῦσα,[21] and of χρυσίον . . . δοκοῦν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερβαίνειν δύναμιν.[22] Now the *lustralis collatio* was levied in connection with imperial anniversaries, for which it furnished the precious metal needed for donatives; for the evidence, cf. Seeck's article in P-W IV, 370–376. We have evidence of an imposition on 14th April, 386, by Theodosius,[23] but this must have been made known to the citizens of Antioch before February, 387. For *aurum coronarium* the Codes do not supply a sufficiently full record of impositions for us to establish a definite connection with imperial anniversaries. But the thing is probable in itself [24]; and C.Th. 12, 13, 2, of 28th August, 364, is evidence for an imposition which may correspond to the accession of Valentinian I on 25th February, 364,[25] while that mentioned in C.Th. 12, 13, 4, of 10th August, 379, may correspond to the accession of Theodosius on 19th January of the same year,[26] or, less probably, to the *quinquennalia* of Valentinian II, whose accession is dated 22nd November, 375.[27] C. Th. 12, 13, 6, of 14th, June, 387, dealing with the return of *aurum coronarium* wrongly levied by a tributary prince from his subjects, suggests an imposition in 387.

The words actually used by Libanius and John Chrysostom are too vague to make much of. Two points, however, may bear on the question. First, the members of the *boule* seem to have been prominent in the first movement of protest,[28] and the whole of the *boule* was put under arrest by the imperial commissioners Caesarius and Hellebichus when they arrived to inquire into the riot. This suggests that they had some close personal or corporate interest in the tax imposed. Second, the reference to οἱ πολλοί in *De stat.* 8, 4 = 96A seems to point to *collatio lustralis*, to which a large proportion of the population of Antioch would be liable. So too, Chrysostom speaks of the tax as falling upon the inhabitants of the city.[29] Perhaps the answer is that both taxes were imposed. Indeed,

11 A. Hug, *Studien aus dem classischen Alterthum* (1886), 156.

12 A. Güldenpenning and J. Ifland, *Der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse*, 140, n. 3.

13 T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* I², 475, n. 2.

14 J. F. D'Alton, *Selections from St. John Chrysostom*, 125, n. 3.

15 cf. the series of regulations in C. Th. 13, 1, 1–21, and the name *pragmateutikon chrysion* in Basil *ep.* 88 = MPG 32, 469.

16 cf. C. Th. 12, 13, 2–4.

17 cf. the *negotiatorum matricula* in connection with *lustralis collatio*, C. Th. 16, 2, 15, § 1; 11, 5, 1; 13, 1, 3.

18 Liban. *or.* 19, 25.

19 Liban. *or.* 22, 4.

20 *De stat.* 3, 7 = 47D.

21 *De stat.* 5, 3 = 63D.

[illegible] *De stat.* 8, 4 = 96A.

[illegible] C. Th. 13, 1, 15. Cf. also Liban. *or.* 33, 33, ἄρτι βαρεῖαν αὐτοὺς ὑπομείναντας φοράν. Are the arrangements for convoying gold and silver bullion mentioned in C. Th. 8, 5, 48, of 4th March, 386, connected with this?

24 Though traditionally a voluntary gift, *aurum coronarium* had by now become firmly embodied in the regular system of taxation. Cf. C. Lacombrade, 'Notes sur l'aurum coronarium,' *REA* 1949, 54–9.

25 *Chron. min.* I, 240.

26 *Chron. min.* I, 243, 297.

27 *Chron. min.* I, 242.

28 Liban. *or.* 19, 26.

29 *De stat.* 8, 4 = 96A.

if the connection of both with imperial anniversaries can be maintained, this is precisely what we should expect.[30]

We can now turn to the sequence of events in Antioch. When the imperial letter announcing the new tax was read out at the *dikasterion* the *bouleutai*, together with other leading men, went to the *archon* to ask him to reduce the imposition. Meanwhile some who were standing near the governor began to complain and to call on God to aid them.[31] Immediately the lead was taken by a πονηρὰ συμμορία [32], by οἱ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ νεφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀρχουμένους προτιθέντες,[33] one of whom had already been 'responsible for the misfortunes at Berytus.' Under their leadership the crowd went off to the house of Bishop Flavian, but finding him discreetly absent, returned to the *dikasterion*. Enraged by this time,[34] the demonstrators went to the *stoa* before the *dikasterion*, where their leaders, shouting, removing their *chlamydes*,[35] and gesticulating, led them to the *koinon balaneion*,[36] where they cut down the hanging lamps, δεικνύντες ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει κόσμον τοῖς αὐτῶν βουλήσεσιν ὑποχωρεῖν καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν νόμος οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνοις δοκοῦν μέγα.[37] Returning to the railings—*kinklis*—surrounding the residence of the governor, whose staff feared that they were going to kill him, the rioters, not content τὰ εἰωθότα ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ ταράττειν καὶ συγχεῖν τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις,[38] pulled down first the wooden panel pictures,[39] and then the bronze statues of the imperial family, breaking them up and dragging them through the streets.[40] They then set fire to the house of a prominent citizen,[41] and were about to burn other parts of the city, including the imperial palace, when the commander of the *toxotai*,[42] who had hitherto found reasons for delay, though called upon by 'a myriad voices', at last came up with his men, dispersed the mob, and extinguished the fire. All was over by midday. Then there arrived ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἐθνῶν [43] with some soldiers,[44] arrested those guilty of arson, and began

30 Mr. G. E. M. de Sainte Croix has suggested to me that the new tax was a *superindictio* of *iugatio-capitatio*, and that this is the reason why it was imposed by a special imperial decree. This is an attractive theory. But there seems to be little certain evidence for *adaeratio* of this tax in Syria so early as 387. (On this whole problem cf. S. Mazzarino, *Aspetti sociali del Quarto Secolo*, 1951, 137–216.) And if the new tax were *iugatio-capitatio*, it would fall above all on the peasants of the city territory. Now they were not involved in the riot; surely, therefore, if they had been subject to the tax, their conduct would have presented a contrast with that of the townsmen which John Chrysostom could not fail to develop in his 19th homily, where he speaks at length on the virtues of the peasants. The argumentum ex silentio carries some weight here.

31 Liban. *or* 22, 5 ff. Libanius calls this φωνὴν . . . στασιαστικήν, σχῆμα μὲν ἔχουσαν ἱκετείας, ἔργον δὲ ἀπειθείας.

32 Liban. *or.* 20, 3.

33 Liban. *or.* 19, 27.

34 Liban. *or.* 19, 31.

35 Generally an article of military or official clothing at this time; cf. in particular C. Th. 14, 10, 1 pr. of 382, 'nullus senatorum habitum sibi vindicet militarem, sed, chlamydis terrore deposito, quieta coloborum ac penularum induet vestimenta,' also 7, 6, 4 of 396, 1, 15, 16 of 401. For this usage in Libanius cf. *or.* 46, 17, *or.* 30, 15, where there is mention of a πράκτορος χλαμύς. But the word is used in a more general sense of a civilian outer garment, such as might be worn on a winter day in Antioch: cf. P. Oxy. 1288, 24, fourth century; Liban. *or.* 45, 19.

36 Presumably one of the baths near the palace on the island.

37 Liban. *or.* 22, 6. Were the lamps outside the baths (cf. ἐπὶ τὸ πλησιάζον βαλανεῖον) and so part of the famous Antiochene street lighting (cf. Amm. Marcell. 14, 1, 19, and the passages cited by De Jonge in his note ad loc.)? If so, it is to be borne in mind that this lighting system was maintained by a levy of oil from the citizens, and was no doubt felt by the poorer among them [illegible] a burden (cf. Liban. *or.* 33, 35–7). Even if the lights were inside the baths, they may have been in some way a charge on the citizens of the surrounding district. Cf. *CJ* 8, 11, 19, of 9th January, 424, where the revenue from certain buildings in Constantinople is to be devoted in part to lighting a public bath-building in the neighbourhood. We can only guess just what this act meant to those who took part in it, but we need not guess blindly.

38 Liban. *or.* 22, 7.

[illegible] Not wooden statues, as some commentators and translators believe. For these portraits of emperors, painted with wax colours on wooden panels, and distributed to the cities of the empire, cf. H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, 19, 3, Paderborn, 1934), particularly the passages cited on p. 35 n. 2; p. 36 n. 1; p. 49 n. 6.

40 Presumably all this takes place in front of the palace, and the paintings and statues are part of the official d.cor, as flags or coats of arms might be to-day.

41 cf. the similar occurrence at Antioch in 353, when the angry crowd set fire to the house of one Eubulus, Amm. Marcell. 14, 7, 6.

42 These are presumably a local police force. Neither Hommel's article in P-W 2te Reihe XII, 1855–58 nor Hirschfeld's article "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich" (*Sb. Berlin* 1891, 845–877 = *Kleine Schriften* 567–612) discusses the police force at Antioch.

43 The *comes Orientis*. On these titles cf. Glanville Downey, *A Study of the Comites Orientis and the Consulares Syriae*, Princeton, 1939, 18–19. A similar expression, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δήμων,, seems to be used of the Praefectus Augustalis by Pallad. *Dial.* 6 = p. 36, 27 Coleman-Norton.

44 Liban. *or.* 19, 36. This must have been [illegible] mere guard of honour. There does not seem to have been any regular garrison at Antioch at this time.

investigations into the destruction of the statues. Meanwhile a dispatch had been sent off to Constantinople. The richer classes, the *honorati* [45] and the *curiales*, tried to seek safety in flight, and the *archon* had to use threats to keep the latter in the city.[46] Very soon the most serious offenders had been tried, condemned, and put to death by the sword, by fire, or by beasts,[47] and the city awaited the Emperor's decision in expectation of the worst.

Now both Libanius and John Chrysostom attribute the riot to daemonic intervention,[48] and Libanius has a pretty story about an old man of superhuman strength prominent among the rioters, who turned into a boy and then vanished before the eyes of the citizens.[49] But both also emphasize the role played by certain disreputable persons, generally qualified as strangers, and clearly connected with the theatre.[50] This body of men—the theatre claque—is sufficiently well known from other sources for us to form a picture of its nature and activities. Libanius *or.* 41 *ad Timocratem* is largely devoted to warning Timocrates against them. As in the speeches dealing with the riot, the point is made—and no doubt exaggerated—that the theatre claque is composed of disreputable foreigners, guilty of the most heinous crimes in their native cities.[51] They attach themselves principally to the *orchestai*, the *pantomimi*.[52] They were not a mass 'supporters' club' but a small body of professionals, divided into two or more groups, cf. § 9 οὗτοι τοίνυν εἰσὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους ἢ τετρακόσιοι οἱ μὲν τούτῳ συμπράττοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκείνῳ. Such organized claques are traceable at a much earlier period. Nero, with his customary exaggeration, had one more than 5,000 strong, headed by young Roman knights, when he performed at Naples. The practice seems then to have been recently introduced from Alexandria: cf. Suet. *Nero* 20, 3. And Pliny's elderly friend Ummidia Quadratilla included a claque among her entourage: cf. Plin. *ep.* 7, 24, 7. Yet there was something new about their activities in Libanius' time.[53] He warns Timocrates to be on his guard against the claque because of the political role which it plays, bringing pressure to bear upon officials by means of the slogans which it shouts in the theatre.[54] We hear more about this aspect of their activities in *or.* 46, 17. They are powerful because they can stimulate popular demonstrations against anyone they dislike, and make trouble for them.[55] For other references to the importance in Antioch at this time of *euphemiai* in the theatre and those who led them, cf. Liban, *or.* 46, 39, where Florentius is said to believe τὰς παρὰ τῶν κακίστων εὐφημίας ἀπόδειξιν ἀρχῆς ἀρίστης (εἶναι); also § 5 of the same speech, and *or.* 45, 22, 45, 4. Again, Libanius, addressing Icarius about 385, tells him not to be dismayed by the hostility shown towards him in the theatre; after all, it is not the citizens who are responsible for the *thorybos*, but deserters, runaway slaves and the like—ὄχλος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ βίου τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων [56]—who oblige others to follow their lead. This, he continues, is quite a recent development.[57] One could quote many similar passages from speeches of Libanius dating from this time.

In other words, what was in origin merely a claque, whose business it was to stimulate and maintain applause for theatrical performers, was now using its skill and its familiarity with the people to give the lead in political demonstrations in the theatre, often expressing hostility to imperial officials. The most frequent occasion for these demonstrations was

[45] Liban. *or.* 23, 17.
[46] Liban. *or.* 22, 11.
[47] Liban. *or.* 19, 37, John Chrysostom *de stat.* 3, 6 = 45*c*. There had recently been proclaimed an Easter amnesty (cf. *de stat.* 6, 3 = 76*c*) which may in general have prohibited criminal trials during Lent. But in any case it would not apply to those charged with *maiestas* and certain other serious crimes. Cf. the edicts of Easter amnesty in the Western Empire, C. Th. 9, 38, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8.
[48] Liban. *or.* 19, 29 δαίμων πονηρός: John Chrysostom *de stat.* 15, 1 = 152E, 21, 1 = 214B, 21, 3 = 217C τὴν οὕτω φιλουμένην ἐβάσκηναν δαίμονες, ibid. = 218B.
[49] Liban. *or.* 19, 30.
[50] Liban. *or.* 19, 28. Cf. also *or.* 20, 3, John Chrysostom *de stat.* 2, 3 = 24D, 3, 1 = 36D, 5, 3 = 63E, 6, 1 = 73E, 17, 2 = 174E, and particularly 17, 2 = 175C–D ἐντεῦθεν αἱ ῥίζαι τῆς πονηρίας ἐβλάστησαν τῇ πόλει, ἐντεῦθεν οἱ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῆς διαβάλλοντές εἰσιν, οἱ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνὰς τοῖς ὀρχουμένοις πωλοῦντες, καὶ τριῶν ὀβολῶν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προπίνοντες σωτηρίαν, οἱ πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω κινοῦντες.
[51] Liban. *or.* 41, 6.
[52] Liban. *or.* 41, 7, where we are told that the claque of the *pantomimi* is paid a retaining fee even when the *pantomimi* are not performing.
[53] Liban. *or.* 41, 15 ἔν γε τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἐλέγετο οὔτε ἐπράττετο, κτλ.
[54] Liban. *or.* 41, 2.
[55] Liban. *or.* 46, 17 ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς θεάτροις ἔχουσι, τὴν ἰσχὺν δεσποτείαν τῶν ἀγοραίων ἔχοντες διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς φωναῖς ἐξουσίαν, κτλ.
[56] Liban. *or.* 26, 8.
[57] Liban. *or.* 26, 17.

the stylized acclamation—*euphemia*—with which officials were greeted by gatherings of the people in the theatre. These *euphemiai*, beginning with formal good wishes to the emperor and members of the imperial family, and to high officials in order of their rank, could and often did end up, once the crowd's excitement and sense of solidarity had been roused, with trenchant criticism of, or complaint against, officials actually present. Such must have been the form of the demonstrations in the theatre against the shortage of bread in 385 when the θεάματα were driven off the stage by τοῦ δήμου θόρυβοι.[58] These *euphemiai* could not, of course, be spontaneous, though they might be genuine expressions of popular feeling: they demanded preparation and leadership. The claque, who could formulate popular or sectional demands in rhythmical phrases and lead with voice and gesture the mass-chanting of such phrases, was an important political force, whose favour an ambitious official would try to win; and he could only win it by making concessions to those who controlled the claque. To stay away from the theatre was useless, for wherever a mass meeting of the citizens was gathered, there the claque was to be found at work. Those who acclaimed Lucianus outside the gates on his return from Constantinople some time between 389 and 392 were οἱ . . . ἐπὶ τὰς εὐφημίας οὗτοι τεταγμένοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες τέχνην,[59] or, in Libanius' indelicate phrase, οἷς ἄρουρα μὲν τὰ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν κάτω, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄμφω, τά τε κάτω τά τε ἄνω.[60] On this occasion the people, led by these disreputable characters, not only expressed disaffection in their acclamations, but also ἔπαυσαν τὰς τέχνας.[61] Here, I think, we have the explanation of Libanius' reference to συγχεῖν τὰν τοῖς 'ἐργαστηρίοις [62] in connection with the events of 387, and also evidence of the way in which the claque could organize and lead popular political activity beyond the mere shouting of acclamations.

When John Chrysostom, not long after 387, spoke of the theatre as the root of every disturbance in cities—those whose business it is to applaud the *pantomimi*, he says, rouse the people and cause civil disturbances [63]—he was not thinking only of the possible effects on the morals of his audience of the spectacles represented on the stage, but of this role of the theatre and the theatrical claque in expressing and stimulating political feeling. The same political considerations may well underlie certain other attacks on the theatre by fourth-century Fathers. For the phenomenon was not confined to Antioch. A few examples from other cities of the Empire must suffice. According to Sozomenus 5, 9, the crowd at Gaza, after throwing the martyrs into prison, gathers in the theatre and whips itself up into a frenzy by shouting: καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, οἷά γε δῆμος στασιάζων εἴωθε, κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κτλ. Socrates 7, 13, speaking of the conflict between Christians and Jews in Alexandria, and the resulting quarrel between bishop Cyril and the Augustal prefect Orestes, says

> The people were then divided against themselves not for any serious reason, but on account of the evil which prevails in all cities, I mean the enthusiasm for dancers. For on the Sabbath day, when a dancer had gathered a numerous crowd together . . . the day became one of battle between the sections (μέρη) of the people. And even after order had been restored somehow by the prefect of Alexandria, none the less the Jews remained embittered against those of the other section. And though they are always and everywhere hostile to the Christians, the hostility grew even sharper on account of the dancers. And when the prefect of Alexandria, Orestes, held a *politeia* in the theatre—for such is the name which they give to proclamations before the people—there were present also the supporters of bishop Cyril, desiring to know the orders of the prefect, etc.

The pattern may not be precisely that which we have found in Antioch, but it is recognizably related to it.

When we turn to the Codes, we find not only confirmation of the universality of the *euphemiai*, but also evidence that the emperor too had to pay attention to the acclamations

[58] Liban. *or.* 29, 2.
[59] Liban. *or.* 56, 2.
[60] Liban. *or.* 56, 15. For the explanation of this phrase cf. Seeck, 'Libanius gegen Lucianus,' *RhM* 73 (1920–4), 88–9. For *euphemiai* in the baths cf. Liban. *or.* 27, 13.
[61] Liban. *or.* 56, 16.
[62] Liban. *or.* 22, 7.
[63] *Hom. in Matt.*, 37, 6 = 7, 423*c*.

of his subjects throughout the cities of the empire. In C.Th. 1, 16, 6 = CJ 1, 40, 3, of 331 Constantine grants to all the right to express praise or blame of officials in public acclamations, reports of which were to be sent to him by provincial governors and others. On the basis of these reports he would determine the promotion or punishment of the officials concerned. In C.Th. 8, 5, 32 of 371 Valentinian mentions as an established practice the use of the public post by provincials bearing reports of acclamations to the emperor. An example of the sending of such a report in 384 is provided by Symmachus *Rel.* 24, 3.

Acclamations of emperors by soldiers in stylized form are commonly enough reported by the Scriptores Historiae Augustae—e.g. *Diadumen.* 1, 6–8; *Alex. Sev.* 6, 1–12, 1; *Maximin.* 16, 3–7; *Gordian.* 5, 7; 8, 4; 11, 9; *Claud.* 4, 3–4; *Tac.* 5, 1–2; 7, 4—and Cassius Dio 61, 20, 4–5 tells of such an acclamation of Nero in the theatre. An interesting example from the fourth century is C.Th. 7, 20, 7, dated by Seeck in 324. The *veterani* here use formal acclamations as a means of ventilating certain grievances before Constantine, who enters into discussion with them and explains the steps which he proposes to take. An amusing instance of the importance attached locally to such acclamations is P.Oxy. 41, dating from about 300. The custom is no doubt a very old one. Even in early times, persons with theatrical experience could play a prominent part in organizing political demonstrations. Tacitus *Ann.* 1, 16, tells of 'Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus', who was a ringleader in the mutiny of the Pannonian legions in A.D 14. What is new in the fourth century is its development into a regular form of political expression in the cities, and the corresponding appearance of an organization which, through the role it played in these acclamations, acquired in some degree the leadership of the people. This is no doubt part of the reason why Constantius 'ultra mortalem modum exarsit', when he heard that Gallus had been interfering with the circus games at Constantinople in 354.[64]

The general economic decline of the empire in the third and early fourth centuries, and the distress which it caused both in the country districts and in the cities are well enough known, and are reflected by many writers of the time. What has not always been so clearly brought out are the reactions of the 'underdogs' in city and country to the new pressures to which they were subjected, and the development by them of forms of struggle which in their turn affected, and sometimes determined, the subsequent course of events. In what we have seen of the activities of the theatre claques, in particular in Antioch, I think we can discern one feature of this general popular reaction.

Many questions must remain for the moment unanswered. The most important, of course, is that of the interests in which the claques operated. These no doubt differed from time to time and place to place according to the relative strength of the political forces involved: we must not imagine anything so coherent as a modern political party, or even as the circus factions of the following centuries.[65] They could not be bought and sold by anyone: their effectiveness depended on the appearance—if not the reality—of being champions of some popular cause. People will not demonstrate, still less fight, for what they feel to be foreign to their interests.

Another question which springs to the mind is whether these theatre claques are the same as, or are part of, the circus parties, whose political role in the fifth to seventh centuries was so important.[66] That the Blues and Greens existed in Antioch as elsewhere from a much earlier period as an organization providing chariots and drivers for the races is beyond question. That they may, by the middle of the fourth century, have been in some places acquiring a new role as political organizations to influence the masses is very likely, but I know of no contemporary evidence to suggest that the development had gone very far. Gregory of Nazianzus in 381 can speak of the Blues and Greens of Constantinople

[64] Amm. Marcell. 14, 11, 12–13.

[65] Yet the fact that a man who had taken part in disorders in Berytus was involved among the ringleaders of the Antioch riot—or that Libanius could plausibly allege that he was—suggests that there was some community of view and personal contact between the groups in different cities, at least in Syria.

[66] Cf. A. Maricq, 'Factions du cirque et partis populaires,' *Acad. Royale de Belgique, Bull. de la classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 5e s rie, t. 36 (1950), 396–421, where most of the important earlier literature is cited.

as τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας ἐσπουδακότας,[67] without suggesting that they were anything more. And Theodoret's account of the reception by the Roman populace of a letter of Constantius, in which he suggested that Pope Liberius and himself should jointly rule the church,[68] seems to lose its point if the circus parties at Rome at the time were anything more than mere sporting organizations. There would be nothing surprising in finding the same people concerned with stimulating applause in the circus and the theatre. Socrates' account of disturbances at Alexandria early in the fifth century quoted on p. 17 mentions the μέρη τοῦ δήμου in connection with demonstrations in the theatre, though he may be referring to Christians and Jews rather than to Blues and Greens. The later circus parties comprised *orchestai* as well as charioteers and others.[69] And *orchestai* continued to be connected with popular unrest at a much later period; Justin I expelled them from all cities except Alexandria for this very reason, according to Malalas 417, 1–4. In this connection it is perhaps worthy of note that there seems to have been a change in the arrangements for theatrical performances during the late-third or early-fourth century. The ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, the empire-wide organization of theatrical artists of the earlier Empire, which was itself the heir of similar organizations in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and ultimately of the κοινά or σύνοδοι of τεχνιταί formed in connection with the great Hellenic festivals,[70] seems to have fallen on evil days during the troublous times of the third century, and to have ceased to exist soon afterwards. At any rate the last datable mention of it is in 291;[71] and we have a decree of Diocletian and Maximian[72] limiting the prerogatives of a '*synodus xysticorum et thymelicorum*', which may however have been a local organization in Alexandria. The new 'political' theatrical claques may have arisen out of a reorganization on a more local basis of the machinery for theatrical performances.

At last we can return to the uprising at Antioch, and see in it not, as many have done, a mere elemental upsurge of the lightheaded oriental spirit, but an integral part of a developing political conflict, in which recognizable organizations and forms of activity appear. Of the tension in Antioch in these years between rich and poor on the one hand, and between the population of the city as a whole and the imperial government on the other, none who reads Libanius and John Chrysostom can fail to be aware. For instance during a bread shortage the *curiales* leave the city, and are glad not to have been burnt to death in their houses by the angry populace (Liban. *or.* 29, 4). And Libanius in *or.* 36, particularly §§ 4–7, speaks of the acute dissatisfaction of rich and poor alike in the city with their economic situation in 386. Antioch was not alone in this respect: in Zosimus 4, 27–29, we hear of general complaints against Theodosius' burdensome military expenditure. By 387, with the decisive campaign against Maximus in prospect,[73] there was no likelihood of any reduction in the burden of taxes. An imposition of *lustralis collatio* in the previous year had placed an intolerable burden on the artisans and merchants.[74] Now came the announcement of this new imposition. If it included an *aurum coronarium*, the attitude of the curiales would be coloured by the expectation that, whether Theodosius or Maximus was victorious, there would soon be a further *aurum coronarium* in celebration of the victory, as indeed there was in 388![75] A further factor bearing on the temper of the

[67] Greg. Naz. *or.* 37, 18 = MPG 36, 301.

[68] Theodoret *HE* 2, 17, 5, τούτων ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναγνωσθέντων, ἐξεβόησε τὸ πλῆθος, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ψῆφον· διχῇ γὰρ διῃρῆσθαι τοὺς θεατὰς ἀπὸ τῶν χροιῶν τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντας· καὶ χρῆναι τὸν μὲν τοῦτον, τὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἡγεῖσθαι. οὕτω κωμῳδήσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ γράμματα, κοινὴν ἀφῆκαν φωνήν· εἷς Θεός, εἷς Χριστός, εἷς ἐπίσκοπος.

[69] cf. Malalas 386 14–23; Procop. *Anecd.* 9 = 56, 23 Haury.

[70] cf. Poland in P–W 2te Reihe, v, 2473–2558 for exhaustive discussion and literature.

[71] P. Oxy, 1691, 2.

[72] Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyrologie*, II, 2, no. 381.

[73] Historians generally date Theodosius' break with Maximus in Autumn 387, when he visited Thessalonica and was betrothed to Galla: cf. Zosimus 4, 44. They may be right. But the accounts of the Antioch riot of early Spring 387 offer some evidence—hitherto neglected—for an earlier date. Both Libanius (*or.* 20, 4, *or.* 22, 8) and John Chrysostom (*hom.* 21, 2 = 217*b*) speak only of statues and paintings of Theodosius and members of his family. Yet only a few years before, Cynegius the Praetorian Prefect had taken official portraits of Maximus to Alexandria—and presumably elsewhere too—to mark the recognition by Theodosius of Maximus as a colleague (Zosimus 4, 37, 3). Had these portraits by now been removed as relations between the two emperors grew more strained?

[74] C. Th. 13, 1, 15; Liban. *or.* 33, 33.

[75] Liban. *ep.* 846, 878.

curiales was no doubt the change of policy indicated by C.Th. 12, 6, 20, of 27th October, 386, whereby *exactores* and *susceptores* are ordered to be recruited from among their number. Valentinian had appointed officials to carry out this often invidious task,[76] and Theodosius has at first apparently only modified this system.[77] An additional cause of grievance may well have been C.Th. 12, 6, 21 = CJ 10, 72, 9, of 28th November, 386, which seems to have systematized and reduced the commission received by *susceptores*.

Be that as it may, the *curiales* protest to the governor, and reinforce their protest by getting the theatrical claque to organize a demonstration of the citizens. In particular they try to enlist the support of Bishop Flavian and the Christian church. But the Bishop, fortunately for himself, cannot be found. In any case, the church has no love for the theatre or those who are the instruments of its hold upon the mass of the faithful. At this point the demonstration should have stopped. But the claque has other roles to play than that of the docile instrument of the *curiales*. It is one of the mouthpieces of popular discontent against government and *curiales* alike, and, led by it, the people in its anger goes on to carry out a symbolical act of rebellion. I need not here stress the significance of imperial effigies as political symbols. The general picture is well enough known. Throughout the history of the Empire, to damage or destroy the statues or portraits of the reigning emperor is a token of open rebellion. In 69 the legionaries of Lower Germany threw stones at Galba's statues in their camps as the first sign of mutiny, while those of Upper Germany actually pulled them down.[78] Basil equates insults to the statue with insults to the emperor himself,[79] as does also Ambrose.[80] At the Council of Chalcedon, disrespect to imperial images was cited as evidence of the disaffection of the Patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria,[81] and at the Council of Constantinople we find a monophysite monk, Isaac the Persian, accused of destroying a painting of Justinian as a token of his hostility to the regime and the orthodox religion.[82] Only six months before the events with which we are dealing, an imperial enactment [83] had confirmed the right of asylum at such statues.[84]

The deed done, the enthusiasm and resolution of the crowd melt away. What is to be the next step? There can be none; there is not yet the objective possibility, nor probably even the clearly formulated desire, to have done with the reality of Roman State power along with its symbols. That came about in Syria only much later, after a heretical church and a national literature had been created. In the meantime there was nothing for the mass of the people but frustration and despair—frustration and despair which the Christian church sought to allay through the preaching of John Chrysostom. For the *curiales* and the richer classes generally, who were guiltily aware of the part they had played in starting a movement which got dangerously out of hand, there was the possibility of flight to their country estates, and many of them seized it. Others, like Libanius, remained at their post, for, as he says himself,[85] it was against the *boule* and some of the *syndikoi* that the imperial wrath was directed, and not against schoolmasters.

What happened in the ensuing weeks at Antioch is another story, posing different problems. In the meantime we have been able to examine in detail one case which shows how the ever more crushing burden of the Empire in its decline was stimulating the growth of new forms of organized resistance among the mass of the people, in the great cities as well as in the countryside.

[76] C.Th. 8, 3, 1, of 9th September, 364; 12, 1, 70, of 30th January, 365; 12, 6, 5, of 4th July, 365.

[77] C.Th. 11, 7, 12, of 3rd May, 383.

[78] Tac. *Hist.* 1, 55.

[79] In Isaiam 13 = MPG 30, 589A–B ὁ βασιλικὴν ἰκόνα καθυβρίσας ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτήσας τὸν βασιλέα κρίνεται. Cf. also 'Bas. in Isaiam' ap. Johann. Damasc. *de imaginibus* 3 = MPG 94, 1365B–C.

[80] *Expos. in ps.* CXVIII, 10, 25 = CSEL 62, 219, 'et qui statuam contempserit imperatoris, imperatori utique cuius statuam consputaverit fecisse videtur iniuriam.'

[81] Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 1, 220, ll. 8–12.

[82] Mansi 8, 898A–C.

[83] C. Th. 9, 44, 1, of 6th July, 386.

[84] The official cult of the imperial statues seems to have been sufficiently flourishing in 425 to be forbidden by an edict of Theodosius II (C. Th. 15, 4, 1, of 5th May, 425). On the 'adoration' of imperial statues at this period cf. *inter alia* Greg. Naz. *or.* 4, 80 = MPG 35, 605B; Philostorg. 2, 17 = p. 28 Bidez, Ambrose *Hexaem.* 6, 57 = CSEL 32, 1, 248; *Expos. in ps.* CXVIII 10, 25 = CSEL 62, 219; Jerome *in Daniel.* 3, 18 = MPL 25, 530C; *Consult. Zacchaei et Apollonii* 1, 28 = pp. 34–5 Morin.

[85] Liban. *or.* 23, 25.

A NEW SOURCE ON BYZANTINE-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE OF MICHAEL Ο ΤΟΥ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΟΥ ΩΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ

Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου, Patriarch of Constantinople from January 1170 to March 1178, is known as an inflexible opponent of compromise with Latins or Armenians, and several of his dogmatic writings are preserved [1]. Before his elevation to the Patriarchal throne he was ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. The inaugural lecture which he delivered in the presence of the emperor Manuel Comnenus has occasionally been referred to and quoted, but never published in full [2]. It is interesting not only as a good example of the formal rhetoric of the twelfth century, but also for the information which it provides on the teaching and study of philosophy in the middle of the century and on Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the second half of Manuel's reign. Until relatively recently the abundant panegyrical literature of the twelfth century has been neglected as a historical source [3], and many texts of interest remain unpublished.

1. Bibliography in H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, 627. The main source of knowledge of his life is Michael Choniates' Λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κῦρ Μιχαὴλ (Sp. Lampros Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I. 72 - 92).

2. Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* Byzantinisches Archiv 8), Leipzig, 1926, 50 - 51. Many frequently consulted reference books, e.g. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 10 (1927/30), 1674, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 7 (1935), 164 erroneously state that the text is published in fasc. 2 of W. Regel's *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, Petrograd, 1917. As Regel's work is unobtainable outside a few large libraries, scholars may have been discouraged from editing Michael's speech by the belief that it was already published. Curiously, the speech is not included among the published and unpublished rhetorical sources for Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the twelfth century listed by Gy. Moravcsik, *A magyar történet bizánci forrásai*, 1934, 206 - 208, nor by I. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 16) 1941, 11.

3. Cf. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Kaisers aus zeitgenössischen rhetorischen Quellen*, Munich, 1935, 5; Gy. Moravcsik, *op. cit.* 206; M. Bachmann-F. Dölger, die Rede des megas droungarios Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos, *BZ* 40 (1940) 353 - 354; P. Lamma, Manuele Comneno nel pane-

The present speech is preserved in two manuscripts, both well-known Byzantine rhetorical miscellanies. They are cod. Escorialensis Y-II-10 (E), where it occurs on fol. 132 - 139, and cod. Bodl. Baroccianus 131 (O), where it is found on fol. 186ᵛ - 190 [1].

It may well also lie concealed in a manuscript of one of the less thoroughly catalogued collections. Certain common errors, e.g. θαύματος for θύματος 1.89, and a common punctuation which is not infrequently wrong, show that both the E and O texts descend from a common archetype, perhaps a collection of the speeches and letters of Michael. E omits a long passage (l. 197 - 214) while two short passages can no longer be read in O because of damage to the lower margin of fol. 189.

The speech of Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου was delivered in the presence of Manuel Comnenus, shortly after the appointment of Michael to the post of ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, on the occasion of an ecclesiastical ἑορτὴ which cannot be further determined. The place of its delivery is not mentioned. But if it is the normal lecture-room of the professor of philosophy, then it must have been somewhere in the Great Palace, perhaps in the Magnaura itself. The date of the speech lies between January 1170, when Michael was consecrated as Patriarch [2], and the date of the victory over and treaty with the Hungarians described at length in the concluding section. As will be seen, a much more precise dating can be established with some probability.

The chronology of Manuel Comnenus' Hungarian campaigns is complex and to some extent disputed [3]. However, in the present connection we can neglect the earlier campaigns of 1152, 1155, 1156 and probably 1161, because of reference in the speech to Manuel's victory over the Cilician Armenians in 1158 (τὰ κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Κιλίκων σεμνολογήματα l. 377), to the treaty with Sultan Kilidj Arslan of Iconium in autumn

girico di Michele Italico (codice 2412 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna) *SBN* 7 (1953) 406 - 408.

1. A full description of E is given by E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1848, 200 - 218, and further details will be found in M. Bachmann - F. Dölger, *op. cit.* The description of O given by H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codd. MSS. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, I, Oxford, 1853, 211 - 230 though detailed is neither complete nor entirely accurate.

2. Cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 1 1943, 258.

3. Cf. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'occidente nel secolo* XII, II, 1957, 123; M. M. Freidenberg, Trud Ioanna Kinnama kak istoričeskij istočnik, *VV* 16 (1959) 28 - 53.

1161, confirmed during his visit to Constantinople later in the same year. [1] (καί σοι δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ βάρβαρος κατεπείγετο καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀειδουλίαν ἐπεψηφίσατο a.s.o. ll. 146 - 155), and to the guaranteeing of the truce by King Vladislav II of Bohemia (τῷ τῆς Βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμους δυναστείας ἀνεζωσμένοις, ὅσους ὁ Παιονάρχης εἰς ἐχέγγυον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας παρεστήσατο καὶ παρέδωκε, ll. 539 ff.), who was an uneasy ally of the Hungarians from 1163 - 4) [2]. This leaves the campaign against Stephen III of Hungary, from 1164 to 1167, for consideration.

In attempting to identify the campaign described in the speech, we should be guided less by Michael's description of the military operations than by his account of the general political frame of reference. The future patriarch was no soldier, and the conventions of panegyric made for vagueness and inaccuracy. Indeed it is impossible to discover from the speech whether a battle actually took place between the Byzantine and Hungarian armies or not. The suggestion—and it is in accordance with the traditions of panegyric [3]—is that the mere appearance of the Emperor's forces utterly discomfited the enemy. Briefly, what Michael Anchialos says is this. The King of Hungary, unmindful of his treaty obligations (αἱ συνθῆκαι οἰχέσθωσαν, l. 427), incited the Serbs [4] to revolt, and then invaded Srem (the Fruška Gora, or Φραγγοχώριον, between the Danube and the Sava), which had recently been adden to Byzantine dominions (ὁπόσα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκλεεστάτοις κληροδοτήμασιν ὁ . . . αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸ μικροῦ συνῆψε καὶ συναπένειμε), Manuel dealt quickly with the Serbs, reduced them to subjection, appointed a new ἀρχηγὸς (l. 496), and then took his army to the Danube, where they were victorious over the Hungarians, and a treaty was concluded, the terms of which are given tn some detail (ll. 555 - 583).

Now until 1165 Fruška Gora was a Hungarian possession [5]. The campaign of 1164, in which Manuel crossed the Danube and succeeded in obtaining the capitulation of the Hungarians without a battle, was followed

1. Not 1162 as generally stated. Cf. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, I, 32, n. 1, who bases his dating on a panegyric by Euthymios Malakes.

2. Cf. Vinc Prag. s.a. 1164, *MGH*, SS. xvii, 681.

3. Cf. poem published by I. Rácz, *op. cit.* 25 - 42, l. 59 for the same motif in connection with a victory over the Hungarians.

4. This is the only possible identification of the wild Dacians of the mountains, who extend from the Danube to the Adriatic and Ionian seas (ll. 439 - 442).

5. The line of the Sava and the Danube as the 'normal' southern frontier of Hungary in the twelfth century is frequently mentioned in contemporary sources. Cf. the passages cited or mentioned by M. Gyóni, *Magyarország és a magyarság a bizánci források tükrében* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 7), 1938, 25 - 29.

by a treaty ceding Croatia and Dalmatia to Béla, the younger brother of King Stephen III (F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 1455). As Béla was a Byzantine protégé, and was soon to be betrothed to Manuel's daughter Maria and recognised as joint heir to the throne [1], this in effect made Croatia and Dalmatia Byzantine provinces [2], and in fact in 1166 we find a Byzantine *dux Dalmatiae et Diocleae* [3]. But Srem still remained in Hungarian hands. In 1165 Manuel first raised the question of Srem, which he claimed belonged to the appanage of Béla, sent troops to occupy Zemun, where they were promptly besieged by a Hungarian army. He then prepared for a major war and entered into negotiations with Russian princes, with Frederick Barbarossa, with Henry II of Austria, and with Venice. In the meantime the Hungarians captured Zemun. Manuel hastened to the Danube and retook the city, whereupon the Hungarians signed a treaty acknowledging Byzantine claims to Srem [4]. Only from late summer 1165 onwards could a Hungarian invasion of Srem be spoken of as a violation of a treaty. The Hungarians were unwilling to accept this situation, and began negotiations to form an anti-Byzantine alliance. In spring 1166 they attacked the Byzantine garrison in Srem, and went on to occupy parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. In 1167 Manuel gathered a large army in Sofia and sent it to Srem under the command of Andronikos Kontostephanos, while the imperial fleet sailed up the Danube. On St. Procopius day (18th July) 1167 a battle was fought near Zemun in which the Hungarians were routed [5]. This defeat ended the long series of Byzantine-Hungarian wars which filled the middle years of Manuel's reign.

The campaign described in the speech must be either that of 1165 or that of 1167. It is not easy to choose between the two dates. In favour of the former the following arguments suggest themselves:

i) There was no actual battle in 1165.

ii) The presence of King Vladislav of Bohemia in Hungary is not recorded for 1167, though the argument from silence is always dangerous.

1. Nik. Ak. p. 179.
2. Cf. F. Šišic, *Poviest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovića* (1102 - 1301), Zagreb, 1944, 87.
3. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. II, 1904, 102; further instances in F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène II; Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 1912, 490, n. 2.
4. F. Šišić, *op. cit*, 88. where the sources are cited. The chronology of these events is not entirely certain, but Šišić's reconstruction seems the most plausible.
5. F. Šišić, *op. cit.* 89 - 91.

iii) King William I of Sicily, who died on 7 May 1166, may be referred to as still alive in the speech (ll. 132 ff. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀτρεμεῖ φωλεοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταδύσεως, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἀπεκδεχόμενος ὅσον ἤδη καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον).

iv) The apparent presence of the emperor with the army. In 1167 Manuel seems to have established his headquarters at Sofia.

In favour of the later date the following arguments are worthy of consideration:

i) The claim that Srem had been occupied by the Hungarians in contravention of a treaty with Byzantium would be strictly true only after 1165. But it must be admitted that the Byzantines themselves seem to have claimed some kind of rights in Srem even in 1165 (Kinnam. p. 231).

ii) There was a Serbian contingent among the Byzantine forces in 1167 (Kinnam. p. 271), but there is no mention of one in connection with the campaign of 1165.

At the end of the speech (ll. 758 ff.) Manuel is described as 'setting out for the holy Jordan'. Now he did not go to Palestine either in 1165 or 1167. But in the latter year he may well have intended to do so. On 29th August his grand-niece Maria Comnena was married in Tyre to Amaury, King of Jerusalem. She was escorted to Palestine by George Palaiologos the μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης and the Sebastos Manuel Comnenus [1], and the Basileus would clearly never have demeaned himself by going to Tyre to give away the bride. But it may well have been his intention, now that a durable settlement with Hungary had been reached, to go to Palestine himself a little later. For more was at stake than merely strengthening the bonds between the empire and the Kingdom of Jerusalem without making any concessions regarding the status of the Principality of Antioch. It was probably at the time of the marriage of King Amaury and Manuel's grand-niece that the first negotiations took place concerning intervention in Egypt, which bore fruit later in the ill-fated joint Egyptian expedition of 1169 [2]. The weakness of the Fatimite monarchy was clearly recognised at the time, and the plans of Manuel and Amaury were not obviously foredoomed to failure. A riconquista of Egypt under Byzantine auspices would entirely change the balance of forces in the Mediterranean, and greatly strengthen the empire not only vis-à-vis the Moslem powers, but, what was perhaps more important, vis-à-vis the Latins. It was an enter-

1. Will. Tyr. 20. 1; on the date cf P. Lamma, *op. cit.* 161 n. 1.
2. Cf. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène II : Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 1912, 536.

prise which could count on support from the maritime cities of Italy [1]. In Manuel's dreams of a Justinianic restoration of the empire it would be the counterpart in the South of the success just achieved in Hungary. We do not know why Manuel did not in the end go to Palestine; but one possible reason is his discovery that things were not so settled on the north-western frontier as he had supposed. In the following spring the new Grand Župan of Serbia, Stephen Nemanja, tried to establish his power in Croatia and the Kotor region. After a force under the command of Theodoros Padiates had failed to bring him to book, Manuel had to take the field himself in order to reduce his troublesome vassal [2]. No doubt he had wind of what was brewing long before hostilities actually broke out.

If our argument has been correct, it follows that the speech was delivered either in late summer 1165 or some time after 18th July 1167, shortly after the return of Manuel to Constantinople. One difficulty which arises on either supposition is that the speech makes Manuel 'shrink from a triumphal procession' (ἀναδύῃ τὸν ἐπιδίφριον θρίαμβον l. 303), whereas Niketas Akominatos describes in some detail his triumphal entry into the city [3]. However the remark in the speech does not refer to Manuel's Hungarian victory, but is quite general in its reference. Furthermore, our speaker makes Manuel attribute his success to the Theotokos (τῇ δὲ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ νικοποιῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἁρματηλασίαν τῆς σῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀναιθέμενος, ll. 309 - 310), which, according to Niketas Akominatos is precisely what he did in his triumph in 1167 (ἵδρυτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀπροσμάχου συμμάχου καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστου συστρατήγου τῷ βασιλεῖ θεομήτορος (p. 205. 22ff) [4] (Both writers, incidentally, echo the words of the Patriarch Sergius' Prologue to the 'Ακάθιστος ὕμνος). And in any case, Manuel celebrated a triumph in 1165 also [5], so this difficulty is not surmounted by assuming the earlier date.

The speech gives two new pieces of information about the campaign, the role of the Serbs, and the terms of the treaty. In the former connection, it should be remembered that Serbia was the weak link in Byzantine control of the Balkan peninsula in the middle of the twelfth century, and that there was a powerful pro-Hungarian element among the Serbian nobility [6].

1. Nik. Ak. 206 - 20 Cf. P. Lamma, *op. cit.* 162.
2. Nik. Ak. 206 - 207; Will. Tyr. 20. 4.
3. Nik. Ak. 205 - 206.
4. For the custom of placing the Ikon of the Theotokos on the triumphal chariot, while the emperor walked on foot, cf. Leo Diac. p. 158.10 ff., *Synopsis Sathae*, *M.B.* VII. 195. 20 ff.
5. Kinn. p. 249.
6. Cf. the Serbian revolts fomented by Hungary in 1153 and 1155 mentioned

Niketas Akominatos' complacent remarks on the ease with which the Serbians were reduced to submission every time they made common cause with Germany or Hungary [1], is a testimony to the frequency of their disaffection. And a canonical response of Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1157 - 1169/70) points in the same direction. It declares that the thirteenth Canon of St. Basil, enjoining penance on those who kill in war, must be applied without distinction, be the enemy Turk, Hungarian or Serb [2]. It is the necessity of securing the routes through Serbia that explains Manuel's delayed response to the Hungarian occupation of Srem in spring 1166. And his success is borne out by the presence of a Serbian contingent among the Byzantine forces in 1167 [3]. The Grand Župan who led the revolt may well have been Desa, who in earlier years looked to Hungarian support in his fight for independence from Constantinople [4]. As for the new Grand Zupan, it is tempting to identify him with Stephen Nemanja, who is expressly stated by Niketas to have been in power in Serbia—and to have revolted—in 1168 [5]. But the whole problem of the identity and antecedents of Stephen Nemanja is so complex and disputed that no inference can be made with confidence [6].

More interesting is the information furnished regarding the Byzantine-Hungarian treaty. Though it was evident that there must have been such a treaty, scholars have often remarked that there is no trace of it in our sources [7]. We can now fill this lacuna in the record. Before discussing what the future patriarch says of the treaty, it would be well to summarise what we know of the other Byzantine-Hungarian treaties of the mid-twelfth century. They are:

1. Treaty with King Géza II, 1153 [8]. Arrangements for the return of Hungarian prisoners in Byzantine hands (Kinnam. p. 120).

by Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης in W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum* 142-143, 163.

1. Nik. Ak. 207.
2. V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, No. 1107. 11.
3. Kinn. p. 271.
4. Kinn p. 212 - 213.
5. Nik. Ak. 206 - 207.
6. Cf. *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* I, 1953, 268, the authors of which believe that Desa remained Grand Župan until 1168.
7. Cf. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 490 'Nous ne savons pas si un traité de paix fut alors conclu'; F. Šišić, op. cit 91 'Izvori ne kažu ništa o skopljenom miru i njegovim uslovima'.
8. The most probable date. But the chronology of these Hungarian wars is uncertain, and some scholars, e.g. F. Dölger, prefer the date 1152.

2. Treaty with Géza II; 1155; συμβιβασθέντες μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὧς ὁ καιρὸς τότε ἔδωκεν (Nik. Ak. 134). Probably a mere local agreement.

3. Treaty with Géza II; 1156; τούς τε δορυκτήτους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδώσειν αὐτίκα ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ εἰσέπειτα δὲ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπηρετήσειν, ὅσαπερ ἂν βουλομένῳ ἔσται. (Kinnam. p. 134). This treaty, which was clearly of wider scope than the preceding two, seems to have recognised the Danube-Sava line as the frontier [1]. Any claims to Byzantine supremacy in Hungary which it may have embodied were soon rendered ineffective by the rout of the imperial forces in Italy and the consequent weakening of the Byzantine position in the west.

4. Treaty with King Ladislaus II, 1161/2, Sudendorf, *Registrum oder merkwürdige Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte* II, 138. Soon rendered nugatory by the death of the pro-Byzantine Ladislaus, who in any case never succeeded in establishing his position in Hungary.

5. Treaty with Stephen III, 1164, Croatia and Dalmatia given up by the Hungarians in return for recognition of Stephen by the Byzantines as King of Hungary (Kinnam. p. 224, Vinc. Prag. s.a. 1164).

The treaty described in Michael's speech provides for:

i) Sirmium recognised as Byzantine territory τὸ Σίρμιον ἐρρέτω...τῆς σῆς ἔστω ἐξουσίας τοῦτο καὶ κυριότητος, ll. 555 - 557).

ii) Croatia and Dalmatia recognised as Byzantine territory, without apparently any mention of Béla-Alexios (ἔστω τὰ ἐντεῦθεν...ὁ Χορβάτης καὶ ὁ Βοσναῖος τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγραφήτωσαν ἄξοσιν, ll. 560 - 569).

iii) The Hungarian archbishopric of Esztergom to be subject to the Byzantine government (συγκαταλεγέσθωσαν...τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι, ll. 569 - 571). What precisely this meant I leave to students of Hungarian ecclesiastical history. It clearly does not imply the subjection of the Hungarian church to the Patriarch of Constantinople. This would not be a subject of negotiation between the two governments, and in any case, though it must have been a long-term objective in the mind of Manuel, it was not one immediately attainable in 1167. But however the expression is to be interpreted, it certainly implies some kind of Byzantine supremacy in Hungary [2].

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1. F. Šišić, *op. cit.* 70.

2. On the implications of the sending of a crown to Géza I by Michael VII cf. F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 8 (1949) 315 - 342, especially 329 - 332; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee* [2], 1956, 203 - 204. This clause in the 1167 treaty must be intended to reassert the claim to supremacy originally implied by the gift of the crown.

iv) Some form of tribute to be payed by Hungary to the Byzantine empire (ὑποφορά σοι ἔστω τὰ ὅλα...βέβαιοι κατεγγυηταί, ll. 571 - 576).

v) A number of Hungarian notables to be handed over as hostages (οὐκ ὀλίγους...τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον, ll. 579 - 583).

Not only are the terms of this treaty preserved in greater detail than those of the preceding treaties, but the relation between the two states which it embodies is radically different from that in the earlier years of Manuel's reign. And this treaty or one very like it, since the agreement of 1167 must have been similar to that of 1165, apparently remained in force until Manuel's death in 1180, in spite of the dropping after the birth of Alexius II of the plan to unite the empire and Hungary under a single monarch, and the catastrophe of the Byzantine army at Myriokephalon in 1176. Historians have sometimes remarked that our sources often seem to speak of Hungary in the latter half of Manuel's reign as if it were a vassal state of the empire [1]. It now appears that this attitude corresponds with the de jure position, if not always with the political realities. Manuel had attained the goal of his far-reaching foreign policy in this quarter if in no other.

We may now discuss briefly Michael's appointment as ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. The last traceable holder of this appointment was Theodoros of Smyrna, the successor of John Italus [2]. He must have survived until after 1112, if he engaged in anti-Latin polemic prompted by the mission to Constantinople of Petrus Chrysolanus in that year [3], and so far as we know he remained in office until his death. It is only an assumption, though not an unlikely one, that he was the last ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων until the appointment of Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου in 1165 or 1167. Be that as it may, the sources agree that for a long time before this time the official teaching of philosophy had lapsed. Michael Akominatos' well-known words πολὺς γὰρ ἐρρύη καιρὸς ἐξ οὗ, λιποῦσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὧς ἡ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ Δίκη παρθένος, εἰς τὸν ἀθάνατον χῶρον ἀνέπτατο a.s.o. [4] are amply borne out by the text of the present speech. Cf. in particular ll. 52ff., 237ff. The speaker goes on to say that philosophy has now had the doors of the palace opened to her and been allowed to approach the

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1. Cf. the passages cited by M. Gyóni, *op. cit.* 55 - 57.

2. Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, 50.

3. Cf. Krumbacher, *G.B.L.* [2] 85; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 617. His philosophical and theological writings would be worth study and publication.

4 Sp. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα I, 81.

throne, as she did before (ll. 55ff.), has been restored, and that he himself receives a salary from the emperor in virtue of his office (ll. 99ff.). His appointment, however, is not a mere restoration of the status quo ante; philosophy is now to be the handmaiden of religion; it is to be purged of false and corrupting doctrines (ll. 71ff.) and to be used as a weapon against heresy (ll. 74ff.); its purposes are to be the comprehension of the unseen trough the study of that which can be seen, the praise of the creator, and the winning of divine goodwill (ll. 91ff.). This tamed philosophy is to consist mainly of the study of Aristotle (ll. 105ff.) and above all of his meteorological works, which would especially reveal the wisdom of the creator (ll. 249ff.). With this bowdlerised Aristotelianism must be connected the curious passage, omitted in E, in which Michael attacks μυθοπλάσται and φρενόληπτοι, followers of pagan theology, who believe matter to be uncreated, (ll. 197ff.). Now this last point forms the burden of one of the charges against John Italus[1] in 1082, who was also accused of reviving other errors of the ancient philosophers on the soul and other questions, and of regarding profane literature as a fountain of truth. Italus had his heirs two generations later. Indeed, as Uspenskij and others remark, a long argument between realists and nominalists goes on throughout the twelfth century in Constantinople, parallel to and not unconnected with the similar argument in the Latin west[2]. Throughout this argument there is a correlation between Nominalism, inclination towards Neoplatonism, and the asking of theologically awkward questions. Among the pupils of Italus, the monk Neilos was condemned in 1087 for views tending towards Monophysitism[3], Leo of Chalkedon in 1092 for a false doctrine of images[4], and Eustratios of Nicaea, himself well known as a commentator on Aristotle, in 1117 for christological errors traceable to a Plotinian doctrine of hypostases[5]. In 1156 Soterichus Panteugenes, Patriarch-elect of Antioch, together with a number of followers, among whom were two of the leading men of letters and theological teachers of the Patriarchal School, Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης and Nikephoros Basilakes, was con-

1. F. Uspenskij, Deloproizvodstvo po obvineniju Ioanna Itala v eresi, *IRAIK* 2 (1897).
2. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti*, 1891 (1892), 146 - 245; B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* [E. Bréhier, Histoire de la philosophie, fasc. supplémentaire II], 1949, 210 - 222.
3. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 341.
4. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 339 - 340.
5. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 340 - 341, 618 - 619; B. Tatakis, *op. cit.* 216 - 218.

demned for heretical interpretation of the liturgy of the eucharist[1]. It was no less a person than Nikolaos of Methone, the leading theologian of the age, who connected the heresy of Soterichus and his friends expressly with the Platonic doctrine of ideas, which, he declared, had been refuted by Aristotle[2]. The same Nikolaos of Methone saw fit to refute Neo-Platonic theology at some length in his Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου[3]. A modern scholar speaks of 'die Proklos-Schwärmerei, die damals manche literarische Kreise erfasst zu haben scheint und die wohl auf die psellianische Renaissance zurückgeht'[4]. It was during the reign of Manuel Comnenus that the heretical doctrines on questions of christology and the eucharist of Myron or Michael Sikidites, alias Michael Glykas the chronicler, first attracted attention[5], though his synodal condemnation did not occur until many years later. Sikidites was an astrologer and thaumaturge. It has been plausibly suggested that he and his colleagues were putting forward a whole systematic cosmology of Neo-Platonist character[6].

This is the background against which Michael's polemic against the Hellenisers and his claims for his own philosophical teaching must be seen. In the middle sixties of the twelfth century the argument over the interpretation of the text ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστὶν was at its height, and the years 1166 and 1167 saw a series of synodal decisions and condemnations arising out of this question[7]. Among those condemned were Joannes Pantechnes, Chartophylax[8], George, Metropolitan of Nicaea[9], Samuel, deacon and canstrisios of St. Sophia[10], and Basil τοῦ Ἁγιοπάντων, alias Basil Pediadites, teacher of grammar in the Patriarchal school and many years later Bishop of Corcyra[11]. The trouble was not confined to Constan-

1. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 623 - 624; B. Tatakis, *op. cit.* 219 - 220.
2. Cf. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki* 221 - 222.
3. Ed. J. Th. Vömel, Frankfurt, 1825, as the fourth volume of F. Creuzer's edition of Olympiodorus and Proclus. Cf. in particular p. 2, Θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις μᾶλλον εἰκότως, ὅπως καί τινες τῆς ἔνδον ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας γεγονότες αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν χριστώνυμον κλῆσιν πλουτήσαντες καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀπολαύσαντες καὶ μυστηρίων θείων γευσάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς ἔξω παιδείας μετέσχον ἤ που καὶ ἀκροθιγῶς ἥψαντο, ἐπίπροσθεν τῶν οἰκείων τίθενται τὰ ἀλλότρια, κτλ.
4. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 624.
5. Nik. Ak. 192.
6. F. Uspenskij, *Očerki* 243 - 245.
7. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 58, where the references to the texts will be found.
8. H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 660; V. Grumel, *Les régestes* No. 1063.
9. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* Nos 1066, 1070, 1073.
10. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* No. 1067.
11. V. Grumel, *Les régestes* Nos 1076, 1077.

tinople, since in the summer of 1167 we find Nikolaos, Metropolitan of Ephesus, obliging the Bishops of his province to sign an orthodox interpretation of the passage in question [1]. If we are right in dating our speech to the summer of 1167, or even if it belongs to 1165, the Hellenisers against whom the speaker inveighs with such force are likely to be those Nominalists whose interpretation of the cebrated text led them to take up an almost Arian position in theology. Indeed, we may go further and suppose that it was the flourishing of this fresh crop of heresies upon the fertile soil of Neo-Platonising philosophy which led Manuel to reinstitute the office of ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων and to appoint to it an eminent and learned churchman—he had been πρωτέκδικος and ῥητορικῶς φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ῥητορεύειν ἐμφιλοσόφως ἐσκέψατο [2] with the express charge of teaching a limited and innocuous philosophical curriculum as a buttress for orthodoxy. Manuel had always to be ready for discussions and negotiations with Latin church in the course of his policy of expansions and consolidation; [3] and he was anxious that his own church should speak with one voice. Needless to say, the Emperor's purpose was not achieved. Michael's tenure of the ὑπατεία τῶν φιλοσόφων cannot have lasted much more than four years, but even had he remained in office longer, the enterprise was foredoomed to failure. Unlike bad money, bad philosophy does not drive out good; and application of the philosophical methods and doctrines of antiquity to problems of theology was part of a great movement in European thought which could not be stemmed by courses of lectures. It is interesting, however, that one of the successors of Michael, perhaps his immediate successor, was an interpreter and 'populariser' of Aristotle. In cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 74, a miscellany in the hand of Leo Allatius, there appears on fol. 40 the following poem: —

Εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν ὕπατον τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἄδηλον:

Ἀριστοτέλης ἐγγράφως ἐσπαρμένην
τὴν φιλόσοφον προλαβὼν γνῶσιν πάλαι
τοῖς πᾶσιν αὐτὴν δυσθεώρητον γράφει,
τὸν νοῦν δὲ βλάψας δεινότητι τῶν λόγων.

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1. L. Petit, Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 11 (1906) 477 - 478.
2. Sp. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I, 80. The somewhat left-handed compliment was no doubt meant in all sincerity.
3. Cf. F. Uspenskij, *Istorija Vizantijskoj imperii*, III, 1948, 247.

Κωνσταντῖνος δ' ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων
τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνης τῆς γραφῆς ὑπεισδύνας
ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τοῦτον ἀναχωννύει,
καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν εὖ σαφηνίζει λόγοις.

l. 7 ἄλλως cod.

This Constantine is probably to be identified with Constantine of Nicaea the philosopher, author of two speeches in Cod. Escur. Y-II-10, fol. 301v - 303 and 303 - 306v, the latter of which is addressed to Johannes Dukas, Megas Hetaireiarches, a prominent figure throughout the reign of Manuel Comnenus, and friend of Eustathios, who was still alive in 1177 [1].

In publishing the text of the speech, I have recorded in the critical apparatus all variant readings other than those showing merely phonetic confusion or misplaced accents. In the provisional commentary I have tried to explain such of the allusions as I can, and to indicate some of the sources of Michael's language and thought. No doubt much more remains to be done; Michael was a very learned man [2], and at the same time capable of vigorous and original imagery. And there are passages where I am not at all sure that the text as it stands is correct; these I have indicated. Rather than translate the text in extenso, I have thought it more helpful to provide a summary of its argument.

Postscript. P. Wirth, Das bislang erste literarische Zeugnis für die Stephanskrone aus der Zeit zwischen dem X und XIII Jahrhundert, *BZ* 53 (1960) 79 - 82 appeared after the present article had gone to press. Dr. Wirth's observations supplement what I have written on p. 180. His dating of the speech, I am glad to see, agrees with my own.

SUMMARY

As the eagle seeks the eagle-stone before building his nest and raising his family, so I turn to him who is the corner-stone of the church before beginning my speech, so that my humility may be adequate to describe the grandeur of your achievements, Sire. You are not only a paragon of all the military virtues, but a friend of the Muses and a patron of philosophy. You have recalled her from her

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1. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 551.
2. Cf. Sp. Lambros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα, I, 78.

former neglect and restored her to her place in the Palace. Now all that is false in the teachings of the philosophers will be rejected, and she will herself furnish weapons for the confutation of her former errors. It is your plan that the study of the visible world should lead to knowledge of the invisible, and to that praise of the Creator which wins divine favour. For this purpose I have been appointed and given a salary from imperial funds. To this end I shall interpret the works of Aristotle, selecting from them what is good and rejecting what is bad. We thank God that he has inspired you to take this measure, and for all else that you have done under his guidance. You have routed the dragon from the west and driven him back to his lair. You have defeated two other foes from the west. The kingdoms of the earth revere you. Ishmael has become your humble ally. Your have won victory upon victory on land and sea. All this you have done in your own person, like Alexander the Great and the old Roman emperors, whom indeed you surpass. What have the followers of false Hellenic theology to say to this, those who believe the world to be uncreated? I abhor their errors; I believe you to have been sent by God to protect us, and to be an ideal monarch, beloved by all your subjects. Among your other deeds of virtue you have now restored philosophy to her rightful place. Her students will now investigate astronomy, optics, meteorology, and study all the wondrous works of the Creator, all to the glory and adornment of your reign. You are a true father of your people, without the faults of Alexander. All the victories which you have won you ascribe, with typical modesty, to divine favour. Long may you reign, so that we may enjoy lasting peace! Lawyers tell of your amendments to the law; citizens tell of your fortification of the city, your chain across the sea, your repair of the walls, your adornment of the palace; churchmen speak of your reduction of taxation on ecclesiastical property in the capital and throughout the empire; soldiers tell of your skill in the arts of war; your courage, your endurance, your campaigns against Hungarians, Turks, Cilicians, the raiders on the Danube, and Serbians. Your courage enables you to face and kill leopards single-handed, though the very sight of their dead bodies terrifies most men. I come now to your latest exploit. When the Hungarians, with their usual duplicity, broke their oath, sought a secret alliance with the Serbians, and made war against us, trying to conquer Sirmium and the territory beyond the Danubian plains, you dealt first of all with their Serbian allies, easily reducing them to submission. They repented of their error, accepted the ruler whom you appointed over them, and so destroyed the hopes of the Hungarians. Then you mustered a great army and led it to the Danube, accompanied by a naval force. Dismayed by this display of invincible force, the Hungarians repented of their folly and approached you as suppliants; humbly surrendering and giving up all their grandiose pretensions. Their ruler offered as guarantee of his good behaviour the King of Bohemia and other dignitaries. Then the Hungarian notables gathered to ratify the peace. Admitting their utter defeat, they accepted the following terms: Sirmium, Croatia and Bosnia are to be Byzantine possessions henceforth. The Church of the Holy Crown of Hungary and its metropolis are to be subject to Byzantium. The country is to be tributory to the Emperor. Prince, bishops, clergy, nobility, officers, soldiers and common people are to take a solemn oath of loyalty. Eleven Hungarian nobles are to be hostages. So the Hungarians were overcome and rued their reckless folly. For this we praise you as you return to Constantinople and set out for the Jordan. We join the common throng in acclaiming your victory.

THE TEXT

Λόγος τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ *E fol 132* τοῦ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου εἰς τὸν ἅγιον αὐτοκράτορα κυρὸν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνη- *O fol 186* νόν, γραφεὶς καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἦν ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων.

Εἶτα ὁ μὲν ὄρνις ὁ ἀετὸς οὐκ ἂν πρότερον πήξαιτο καλιάν, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον προϋποβαλεῖ καὶ προεναρμόσεται—ἠγνόησε γὰρ οὐδ' οὗτος τῆς φύσεως τούτου τὴν ἰδιότητα—ἵνα καὶ ἁπλῶς ὠδινήσῃ, καὶ ἀρίστως ἐκτέκῃ, καὶ τελεσφορηθείη τὸ κυισκόμενον, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταύτης ὠδῖνος τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀχειρότμητον λίθον προϋποθώμεθα, τὸν πολυτελῆ, τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον, τὸν ἔντιμον, τὸν καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάπτοντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα κοινὸν ἀλληλοῦχον ὅρον ἐπισυνδέοντα, τὸν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν ἐμβαλλόμενον, κἀκείνῃ τὴν ξενότροπον ἰσχὺν εἰς εὐτοκίαν ἐναποθέμενον; καὶ πῶς ἀπὸ λίθου σπέρμα ἀνεγερθήσεται καὶ συλληψόμεθα κατὰ νοῦν καὶ ὠδινήσομεν λογικῶς καὶ ἐκτέκωμεν πνεῦμα συνέσεως, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτον κατόπιν τῶν σῶν ἐλάσωμεν ἀριστουργιῶν, βασιλέων θεοειδέστερε; ἢ πῶς τὰ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστηκότα ἐγγυτέρω συνέλθῃ καὶ μικρόν τι θάτερον θατέρου παράψεται ὁ τῶν σῶν ἀρετῶν οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου λόγου χαμαιρριφὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς διανοίας χαμαίζηλον, εἰ μὴ μέσος παρεμπεσὼν ὁ συνδέτης λίθος, ὁ συνοχεύς, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ταπεινότητι μεσιτεύσει καὶ τῇ τῶν πράξεων ὑψηλότητι, σοφία τῷ ἀσόφῳ καὶ καρδία τῷ ἀκαρδίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀλόγῳ λόγος γενόμενος; ἢ πῶς ἡ ἄκαρπος καὶ χερσομανὴς διὰ τὸ κρανανὸν καὶ ἀπόκροτον ὡς εὐπρεμνότατος καὶ εὔξυλος διὰ τὸ ἔγκαρπον ἐνευλογηθήσεται, εἰ μὴ ἡ πνευματικὴ πέτρα βλύσει καὶ ἡ ἄνικμος ποτισθήσεται ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἔπιε χανδὸν εἰς ζωὴν καὶ ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς τὸ ἐγκατάλειμμα σωθησόμενον; ἐπὶ ταύτῃ | διὰ ταῦτα τῇ πέτρᾳ αἱ *E 132v* τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἡμῖν ὠδῖνες λυθήσονται· καὶ τὰ πείσματα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάψομεν· καὶ ὡς οὐ ματαίως ἐλπιοῦμεν, καὶ οἱ λίθοι αὐτοὶ κεκράξονται, οὕστινας ἄρα καὶ ἐρεῖ τις τούτους τοὺς λίθους, εἴπερ τινὲς εἶεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς προδήλοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιμύοντες, καὶ τὴν δυσαισθησίαν νοσοῦντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προχειρότατα. καὶ πάντως οὐχ ἡμιτελὲς οὐδ' ἀτελεσφόρητον ἀλλὰ δυσέκτρωπον καὶ ὁλομελὲς ἔσειται τὸ ἀποκύημα.

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1 ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ: om. E πατριάρχου: πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως E τοῦ τοῦ: τοῦ O 2-3 εἰς τὸν...γραφεὶς: om. E καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἦν: ὁπηνίκα ἐγένετο E 9 καὶ: om. O 10 τὸ θεμέλιον O 11 κἀκείνῳ O 14 ἐλάσομεν O ἀγαθουργιῶν O 15 συνέλθοι O 17 λόγου: om. O 21 τὸν O

προστησάμενοι τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου τὸν καὶ τάχος ἐπιτάττοντα τοῖς βραδέσι καὶ θέρος χειμῶνι καὶ γαλήνην τῷ κλυδῶνι, μεθ' οὗ καὶ εἷς χιλίους διώξεται καὶ μυριάδας δύο μετακινήσουσι, παρ' ᾧ καὶ οἱ ἀπόκρυφοι θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πάσης ἐπιστήμης ἐξεύρεσις ἀποταμιεύονται, ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τῷ ἐγχειρήματι. καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τῷ θεμελίῳ τὰς πρώτας ὑποβάθρας καταπηξάμενοι, ὑπὸ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀρχιτεκτονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου λαμπρὰν καὶ οὐρανοκρότητον σάλπιγγα τὰ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον κατατάξαι καὶ διασκευάσασθαι πειρασόμεθα, ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν ὅποι παρείκοι παραβύοντές τε καὶ παρενείροντες.

οὐκ ἄρα μόνον δημαγωγίας πέρι καὶ πυκνωμάτων λόχου καὶ κενωμάτων στρατοῦ καὶ στομάτων καὶ μετώπων στρατοπέδου καὶ παρατάξεως ἔμελλες θεόθεν δεξιὸς παιδοτρίβης καὶ γνωματάρχης ἄκρος τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκήπτροις ἐπιφιλοτιμηθῆναι, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, ἀθιγεῖς καὶ ἀχράντους τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ἢ στρατηγίας διασωζόμενος γνωμόνας, καὶ τοὺς τῆς τακτικῆς εὐβουλίας χαρακτῆρας ἀκιβδήλους διατηρῶν, ἐν βουλαῖς παννυχίζων καὶ περὶ τὰ ἔργα διατροχάζων ὑπὸ ἡλίους ὅλους ἀνένδοτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μούσας ἐναγκαλίσασθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν ὁμοσκήνους, καὶ φιλοσοφίαν συναγαγεῖν τὴν εὔζωνον καὶ αὐτόσκευον, ἐπεὶ τῆς σοφίας ὁ ἔρως καὶ θειότερος ἅμα καὶ συγγενέστερος ἢ ὁ τοῦ σιδήρου τοῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ ὁ λόγος μέγας δυνάστης, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα σοφόν, ἐν εὐπεριορίστῳ καὶ εὐσυνόπτῳ τῷ σώματι τὰ τελειοποιὰ δυνάμενος καὶ θειότατα.

ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀπωσμένην ἀνεκαλέσω καὶ συσταλεῖσαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν εἰς κευθμῶνας καὶ ταπεινὰς καταδύσεις, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτὴν στρεφομένην καὶ θεωροῦσαν τὰ ἑαυτῆς, εὐρῶτος μὲν ἀπόζουσαν, τῆς δὲ σεσηπυίας ἐξεχομένην ἀναβολῆς, ἀκεῖθεν ἀνελάβου καὶ ἐπανήγαγες καὶ τὰς περιλάμπρους κιγκλίδας τῶν κατηγλαϊσμένων καὶ βασιλείων καταγωγῶν τοῖς αὐτὴν ἀμφέπουσιν ἀνεπέτασας, τοῦ καθορᾶν τὴν στιλπνότητα τούτων καὶ ὡς ἄλλον Ἑλικῶνα περιχορεύειν. καὶ περιλαλεῖν τὰ ἀνάκτορα καὶ τὸν σὸν περιστρέφεσθαι δέδωκας θρόνον, τὸν ἐπηρμένον, τὸν ὑψηλόν, καὶ περὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς καὶ προτέρας ἔννας παλινδρομεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἀφῆκας, ὁ σοφὸς βασιλεύς, καὶ στρατογραφηθῆναι εἰς τὴν τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐετηρίας εὔκλειαν ἀνεκόμισας, καὶ
E 133 μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταύτην | ἀνῆκας εἰς τὸ σὸν στρατογράφιον· ὅτιπερ αἱ σαὶ στρατοπεδεῖαι σοφίας οὐκ ἀμέθεκτοι οὐδ' ἀμέτοχοι, οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς εὐανδρίας ταύτης φέρεται ὑπερόρια, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ καιρίου καὶ συνεκτικοῦ στερηθέντα μείνῃ κατηγορούμενα. ἔχεις δὲ μᾶλλον, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, μὴ μόνον

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34 τῆς: om. E 35 τῷ: om. O 37 λαμπρὰν: om. O κα τὸ O 38 κατατάξασθαι O 38 ἐγχωρεῖν O 42 ἄκρως O 44 βασιλείας ἢ: om. E 50 εὐποριστῷ E 52 ὑφ' O 54 ἀπόζουσα O 60 ὁ σοφὸς βασιλεὺς ἀφῆκας E 64 στερηθέντος O 65 ἔχης E

ὁπλοφορεῖν διαρκῶς καὶ ὁπλιτεύειν ἐπικαιρότατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοφυῶς ταῖς ἐνσόφοις ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἐπιδείξεσι, καὶ φαίνῃ βασιλικώτερος ἑαυτοῦ κυδαζόμενος ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπικόσμησιν μὴ ἀποποιούμενος.

καὶ ἄγε μοι θύε τῷ κραταιῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ χαριστήρια ὁ Περίπατος· ἐπικοινώνει καὶ ἡ Ἀκαδημία τούτῳ τοῦ θύματος· ἀνανεούσθω τὸ Λύκειον, καὶ ἡ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Στοᾶς σεμνοπρέπεια. ὅσον ὑπόσαθρον καὶ σαπρὸν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπερρίφθω καὶ ἐκκρουέσθω ὡς ἄχρηστον· ὅσον ἔντεχνον καὶ κομψὸν καὶ συνεργὸν
| εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἀπανθιζέσθω καὶ ἐκλεγέσθω εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ ψεύδους καὶ τῆς O 187
ὑθλολογίας ἀνατροπήν. τῷ σφυροκόπῳ τὴν σφύραν ἀπαρτιζέτω ὁ σίδηρος, ἵνα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετάγηται σφυροκοπούμενος εἰς τὸ εὔχρηστον· ὁ ὄρνις ἐπιχορηγείτω τὸ πτερὸν τῷ τοξεύοντι, ἵνα καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τούτου τὸ βέλος ἔχῃ περιβολούμενον. ἡ ὄφις δανειζέτω τοῖς Ἀσκηπιάδαις τὰς σάρκας, ἵνα τοῖς οἰκείοις βέλεσι βαλλομένη ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἀπρακτῇ. τὸ καινότατον τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ἐπινόημα, τοῦτο τούτου τὸ θεσμοθέτημα εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον φέρον θεσμόν, εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁροθέτημα, κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις σαγήνην τὴν ἐν τῇ κοσμικῇ καθιεμένην θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος γένους συνάγουσαν, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ ἀνιέρων ὅσον εἰκὸς καὶ ἄξιον ὡς ἁγνὸν παραλαμβάνηται καὶ ἀκίβδηλον, τὸ δ' ἄλλως ἔχον ὡς ἀπηχὲς καὶ ῥυπαρὸν διαπτύηται καὶ ἀπόβλητον.

διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῆς σοφίας ἀνίστησι παιδευτήριον, καὶ ἐγκαινίζει τὴν Πιερίαν τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν βρεφοκόμον καὶ τιθηνόν, καὶ τῷ Θησεῖ τὸν μίτον ἐπέκλωσε, τοῦ διεξοδεύειν ἀκινδύνως τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τὴν δυσδιάφυκτον ἕλικα, τὰς πολυελίκτους διαπλοκὰς τῶν λογικῶν ἀποδείξεων καὶ τὰς πολυστρόφους ἀντιστροφάς, καὶ τῆς πειθανάγκης τὸ ἔντεχνον, ὅσα τε περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ χθόνα καὶ τῶν ἐπέκεινα φύσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν τοῖς πάλαι πεφιλοσόφηται, δυεῖν ἕνεκα τούτων, τοῦ τε τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἀόρατα διὰ τῆς τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐπεξεργασίας καὶ καταλήψεως κατὰ τὸν θεῖον κατανοεῖσθαι ἀπόστολον, καὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων τὸν τοῦ κτίσαντος ὕμνον λαμβάνεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ γινόμενον οὕτω τοῦτον ἡμέτερον ἀναφέρεσθαι, καὶ μέτροις εὐγνωμοσύνης τὴν ἄνωθεν εὐμένειαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ ἀντισταθμᾶν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ τὰ νόθα βάλλειν καὶ ἔκφυλα ὡς νοσερὰ καὶ θανάσιμα, καὶ τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἱερᾶς αὐλῆς σκηνωμάτων ἐκπλέοντά τε καὶ ἀποτρέχοντα.

ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρτι τὴν ἀστιβῆ | βαδίζειν ἡμεῖς ἐλάχομεν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ E 133v
πολύδωρος δεξιά, ἡ εὔδωρος, ἡ βασιλική, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς πρυτανείων ἐπι-

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68 ἀποκόσμησιν O 70 τούτου O θαύματος codd. 71 σαπρὸν: σαθρὸν E 74 ἀπαρτίζεσθαι O 83 ἀκίνδυνον E 87 δυσδιάφικτον O 88-89 τὰς τούτων πολυστρόφους O 89 τε: δὲ O 91 δυοῖν O 96 τὰ τοῦ νόθου E 97 τῆς: om. O τε: om. E

σιτισμὸν ἡμῖν ἐξαπέστειλε, καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὑπανῆκε τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν διώρυχα διώρυξεν ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσίτιδος τοῦ μεταλλεύειν ἡμᾶς καὶ χρυσοφορεῖν καὶ ἐνιαύσιον δρέπεσθαι θέρος χρυσοῦ ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνήροτον· ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς περιίσταται προμηθείας, καὶ οὗτος ὁ θεσμὸς καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πέρας τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφιστείας καὶ ὑπατείας· ἐπὶ τούτοις τῇ Σταγειρόθεν κελαινῇ Σφιγγὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄντων λόγους συνδιασκέπτομαι, καὶ τοὺς γρίφους περισκοπῶ καὶ ἀναζητῶ τὰ αἰνίγματα. μετεωροπολῶ μετὰ ταύτης, περιχορεύω τὸν οὐρανόν· περίγειος ὢν οὐράνιος γίνομαι. φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν ἀνιχνεύειν καὶ διιέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτης ἀδύτων, καὶ ἀνιστορεῖν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα. περισύρω τὸ χλωρὸν κατὰ τὸν ἄπλαστον Ἰακὼβ τῆς ἀσαφίας τὸ ἐπικάλυμμα, καὶ ἐκλεπίζω τὸ ἐπισκίασμα, καὶ εὐκάτοπτος οὕτω καὶ κομιδῇ λελευκασμένος ὁ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐναποκείμενος λόγος μοι ἀναφαίνεται, ὡς εὐηχεστάτῃ καὶ διατόρῳ διαβοᾶν τῇ φωνῇ, «ὦ βάθος σοφίας θεοῦ καὶ γνώσεως». ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ποτιστηρίων τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ῥάβδον ἐνίημι καὶ αὐτός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἰς Χριστὸν αἰχμαλωτίζων ἅπαν ἐννόημα, ὅσον γλυκάζον καὶ πότιμον ἐντεῦθεν καὶ προσίεμαι καὶ ἀρύομαι, ὅσον δ᾿ ἔμπικρον καὶ μεστὸν ἰλύος καὶ τεναγῶδες ἀποπεμπόμενος ἀποστρέφομαι, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν οὐ λέγω γλυκύ, τὴν ἀρὰν τῆς προφητείας ἀποποιούμενος.

δόξα γοῦν καὶ χάρις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χάριν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ τῶν ὅλων τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ σέ, βασιλέων ἀγακλεῶν ἐγκαλλώπισμα. τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἀγάσαιτο καὶ ὑμνήσαι τὴν μεγαλωσύνην αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ παρεῖδε τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ᾿ ἔδωκε σὲ ὑπερασπισμὸν σωτηρίας καὶ πύργον ἰσχύος ἀπὸ προσώπου ἐχθρῶν. καὶ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἔτι ἡ πάλαι ταπεινωθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτῆς ἐνεδύσατο· ἦλθες γὰρ μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ ὁ βραχίων σου μετὰ κυρείας, καὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου ἐποίμανας, καὶ τοὺς ἄρνας σου συνῆξας καὶ ἐνεσήκασας.

ἀπεστάλης ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἀπὸ ζεφύρου τυφῶνα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ, τὸν εἰπόντα «ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι ποιήσω καὶ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς συνέσεως τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπόστασιν προνομεύσω, καὶ ἀφελῶ ἀλλότρια ὅρια». καὶ ἐν τῇ σῇ ῥομφαίᾳ αὐτὸν συνέκλεισας, καὶ παλίσσυρτος ὁ μέγας δράκων ὁ βριαρὸς συνεστάλη καὶ ὑπεστάλη· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀτρεμεῖ φωλεοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καταδύσεως, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἀπεκδεχόμενος ὅσον ἤδη καὶ τὴν πληγὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον. καὶ τάχιον οὗτος αὐτῷ ἀπαντήσαι καὶ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται. οὐκ ἠσθένησεν ἡ ψυχή σου οὐδὲ ἐφοβήθη ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων, τῶν δαλῶν τῶν

106 μελαίνῃ E ὄντων: ὅλων O 114 καὶ γνώσεως θεοῦ E γὰρ ταῖς ληνοῖς O 117 ἀποπεμπόμενος: om. E 120 τῶν ὅλων τῷ: om. E 122 καὶ: om. O ὑμνῆσαι O 124 ἐχθροῦ E 128 ἀπεστάλει O μέγα O 136 ἐφοβήθης O

καπνιζόντων ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀνέλαμψας ὁ μέγας γίγας ὁ λάμπων ἀπὸ περάτων εἰς πέρατα, καὶ ἐσκόρπισας τὸν ζόφον καὶ τὸν καπνὸν διεσκέδασας, καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν ὀμμάτων | *E 134* ἐκείνων ἤμβλυσας· καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἀντωπῆσαί σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄρεος πνέοντες καὶ πόλεμον καὶ μάχην ἀπερυγγάνοντες ἕως ἐσχάτων ἐταπεινώθησαν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει τῆς γῆς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπερτύφους αὐχένας καὶ τὴν ἐξαλλομένην μικροῦ τῶν μετώπων ὀφρῦν πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὡραίων ποδῶν ὑπέκλιναν. προσεκύνησάν σε πᾶσαι αἱ βασιλεῖαι τῆς γῆς· Ἰουδαίας κατάρχεις· Αἰθιοπία προφθάνει· καὶ ἐκ Δαμᾶ λίβανός σοι κομίζεται, καὶ χρυσίον ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν. καὶ ἐνευλογήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὡς φῶς αἱ ὁδοί σου ἔλαμψαν. καί σοι δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ βάρβαρος κατεπείγεται καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀειδουλίαν ἐπεψηφίσατο, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ζωῇ συγκαταλῦσαι τὴν ὑπουργίαν βεβαιωσάμενος, καὶ ὑπ᾿ οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου κυριευόμενος, μηδ᾿ ἄλλου ζεύγλην ἐπαυχενίσασθαι ἀνεχόμενος, τὰ τῆς σῆς καὶ ἄκων ἡνιοχείας καταδέχεται φίμωτρα. καὶ οὐκ ἀποσκιρτᾷ οὐδ᾿ ἀφηνιάζει οὐδ᾿ ἀποπτύει τὸν χαλινόν, οὐ τὴν φορβειὰν ἀποσείεται, ἔνθα φέρεις ἀγόμενος καὶ ὅποι νεύσεις μετακλινόμενος, ταξιαρχούμενος, ἱπποκρατούμενος, χαλιναγωγούμενος, δορυφόρος, ὑπασπιστής, σκευοφόρος, λοχίτης, οὐραγός, δεξιὸς ὁπλοφόρος, εὐώνυμος ἀσπιδοφόρος, προμετωπίδιος ἀκοντίστης, πᾶν ὅπερ θέλεις γινόμενος. καὶ αὐχεῖ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁποῖα μακροὶ χρόνοι ἰδοὺ παρίππευσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐκαυχήσαντο. τοὺς μὲν καὶ μόναις ἀκοαῖς | *O 187v* ἐξεφόβησας, οἱ δὲ ἑάλωσάν σου τῷ δόρατι. τὸν βορρᾶν καὶ τὸν νότον, τὴν ἐνδότερον ἄρκτον, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Μερόης καὶ τῆς Συήνης τὰ τελευταῖα ὁ σὸς περιγράφει κύκλος, καὶ ἔθου ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν τῆς μελίας σου. τὰ σὰ νάματα πίνει καὶ ὁ Αἰθίοψ καὶ ὁ Ἰνδός· τὰς σὰς βόσκεται πεδιάδας καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν φῦλα, τάχα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄτλας ὁ Ὠκεάνιος· θείᾳ γάρ τινι ἐπινεύσει ἐπιταχύνονταί σοι αἱ νίκαι, καὶ ἐπὶ θριάμβοις ἀπαντῶσιν ἕτεροι θρίαμβοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τροπαίοις ἕτερα τρόπαια ἐπανίστανται. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἷμα τῶν ὅπλων ἔτι θερμὸν τῷ δευτέρῳ καταλαμβανόμενον ἀποκλύζεται· καὶ ἀνηγορεύθης τρισαριστεύς, οὐ χερσαῖος μόνον ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ Λάκωνες, οὐδὲ ἐνάλιος αὖθις ὡς οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν μυριάνδρου τὸ θρυλλούμενον ἐκεῖνο στήσαντες τρόπαιον, οὐδὲ ὀψὲ κινηθεὶς ὡς ὁ τῶν στοιχείων καινοτόμος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχηγός, οὐδὲ ταχὺ παυσάμενος ὡς ἄλλοι σμικρολόγοι καὶ μὴ διώκοντες τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐξ αὐτῆς βαλβίδος καὶ ἄνωθεν διαμετρεῖταί σοι ἀεὶ ἐν πόνοις ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ παραμένεις βέβαιος καὶ ἀκμαῖος ὡς ἤδη τῆς ἀπαρχῆς καταρξάμενος.

140-142 ἀλλὰ καὶ ... τῆς γῆς: om. E 143 προσεκύνησάν σοι O ὑπο
153 ἱπποκρατούμενος E 157 σου om. E 158 τῆς om. O 163 ἀπαντλῶσιν O
166 οὐδ᾿ E 167 μυριανδρίου O 168 τῶν ante Περσῶν om. E 171 ἀρχῆς E

καὶ τὸ δὴ καινὸν ὅτι τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πάντα διαπονεῖς αὐτοσώματος· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ πρέποντος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐκείνους θαυμάζομεν, ὅσοι τῆς ἀμπεχόνης † γινόμενοι καὶ τὸν χιτωνίσκον διαδησάμενοι αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν τομὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ μεταχειρίζονται τὸ σιδήριον, καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἰχῶρος ῥανίδας ἀνέχονται ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δρῶσι καὶ πάσχουσι. καὶ βασιλέων ἐκείνους εὐφημεῖν καὶ μεγαλύνειν εἰώθαμεν *E 134v* τοὺς προκινδυνεύειν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐθέλοντας, καὶ στρατιωτικὴν περιβαλλομένους σκευὴν καὶ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἀριστεύοντας, | οὐ τοὺς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθαλαμεύοντας καὶ χλιδῆς παντοίας ἐπαπολαύοντας. οὕτω βάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ βαλλόμενος καὶ πετρῶν ἀτοξεύτων κατατολμῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀμάχους δυνάμεις εὐτολμῶν καὶ ἀντιπαλαμώμενος ἔδοξεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριστουργός, καὶ τὴν δόξαν πλείστην περιεβάλετο, ὅτε τὴν κεφαλὴν μαχαίρᾳ διεκόπη βαρβαρικῇ, ὅτε κατηλοήθη λίθῳ τὸν τράχηλον, καὶ διέβη Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα αὐχμῷ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ διαίταις ἀγρίαις πολιορκούμενος. οὕτω Σέβηροι καὶ Καίσαρες, Σεβαστοί τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνοι, Τιβέριοί τε καὶ Γαίοι ἀνέπτησαν ταῖς φήμαις μετέωροι, καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συμφοιτῶσι τοῖς ὀψιγόνοις διαδιδόμενοι. οὕτω καὶ σύ, πολύκλυτε αὐτοκράτορ, τοὺς πώποτε δυνάστας καὶ βασιλεῖς τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ὑπερηκόντισας, καὶ ὡς ἥλιος ἄλλος δοκεῖς πρὸς τρίτου καὶ τετάρτου μεγέθους ἀστέρας παραβαλλόμενος, ὅτε τὸ σφυρὸν ἐτοξεύθης, ὅτε τὴν πτέρναν διεκόπης, καὶ κρημνοῖς καὶ πετρῶν ἐνέφυς τραχύτησιν· ὅτι διαφυλάττεις καὶ τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐρημότερα, καὶ βουλὰς ἐξαρτύεις παννύχιος, ὅτι σοι τὸ δόρυ θάμα ταῖς βολαῖς ἀμβλύνεται, καὶ λῆμα φέρεις βεβηκὸς καὶ βασιλικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ πτοιαλέον καὶ εὐθορύβητον, καὶ νίκας ἐξανύεις ἐκπύστους καὶ ἀνασκευάζεις μαινομένων ἐθνῶν ὁρμὰς καὶ φρυάγματα.

πρὸς ταῦτα τί φατέον; καὶ τί σκιαγραφεῖτε, οἱ μυθοπλάσται καὶ οἱ φρενόληπτοι, οἱ τὸ ψεῦδος πυργοῦντες πιθάνοις λόγοις καὶ δυσφόρητον τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἐν λέξει σεμνότησι τὴν παρ' Ἕλλησι θεολογίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ θεομαχίαν, ἀποσεμνύνοντες, καὶ τῷ παντὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες καὶ τὴν ἀϊδιότητα παρεισφθείροντες, καὶ μήτε χρονικὴν τοῖς ἐν γενέσει διδόντες τὴν γένεσιν, μήτε τὴν ὁρωμένην κτίσιν τῇ ἀοράτῳ μεταχρονίζοντες καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἄρρητον ἀγαθότητος δι' ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν γεγονέναι καταδεχόμενοι αἴσθησιν, καὶ οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγαλεῖον ἀνακηρύττοντες διαπρύσιον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἀμωμήτου καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐκκλησίας προσκυνῶ τὸν δημιουργόν, καὶ δοξάζω τὸν κτίστην, καὶ ἀνυψῶ τὸν εὐχαριστήριον ὅτι με καθ' οὓς ἔδει καιροὺς καὶ

175 fortasse γεγυμνωμένοι 180 τοῖς: τῆς O 184 περιεβάλλετο O 187 καὶ ante Καισαρες om. O 188 ὀψιτόκοις O 191 πρὸ O 194 ἐξαρτύοις εἰς O λῆμμα O 197 - 214 πρὸς ταῦτα τί φατέον...ἐπισκιάζων με πτέρυξιν om. E 207 οὓς: ἃς O

ἔπλασε καὶ παρήγαγε καὶ κατεσκόσμησε λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπείρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων ἐνέπλησεν ἐπὶ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ, † καὶ ὕμνῳ, τὰ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τὴν κτίσιν τεκτηνάμενος καὶ προσυφαπλώσας μοι ἀρρήτοις προνοίας ἡνιοχείαις, κἀμὲ καὶ ταύτην διακυβερνῶν καὶ διεξάγων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, συνέχων δεσμοῖς ἀρρήτοις καὶ συντηρῶν τὰ τῆς στάσεως, ἐπέχων ἔνθα με μὴ δεῖ παροιστρούμενον, ἐπισυνάγων καὶ συγκρατῶν ἀλλοκότοις με ταῖς ῥύμαις ἐκβακχευόμενον, περιέπων ἐπιμόνως καὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάζων με πτέρυξιν. οὕτω τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς προμηθούμενος καὶ σὲ τὸν ἐν βασιλεῦσι τὸ κράτος ἀναδησάμενον ἀπαράμιλλον τῇ κληρονομίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ περιουσίῳ λαῷ οἰακονόμον δεξιὸν ἐχαρίσατο, θάλασσαν χαρίτων, ἀγαθῶν ἀκένωτον πέλαγος, ἀνδρείας ὑπόδειγμα, στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας, φύσεως φιλοτίμημα, ἀκατάπληκτον ὄμμα, ὅπλον ἀήττητον, καθαιρέτην ἐχθρῶν, ἀναιρέτην κακίας, ἀκλόνητον πύργον, κοινὸν εὐεργέτην, Ῥωμαίων ἔρεισμα. χρῆμα γὰρ παντοδαπὸν αὐτὸς ἐδόθης οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν. ὦ τιθήνημα πορφύρας, ὦ θεοῦ καὶ φύσεως φιλοτίμημα. τοιοῦτον οὔτε πρότερον ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλεύσεται, ὡς οὐδὲν ἧττον πλάττων ἠλήθευσεν ἄν, εἰ περὶ σοῦ ταῦτα καὶ μὴ περὶ ἑτέρου προαπεφήνατο, τὸν τύπον ἀκριβῆ τῆς μορφῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ διαμορφώσας ἄριστα καὶ ὑπογραψάμενος, ὡς βεβαιότερον τοῦ πράγματος καταστοχαζόμενος ἐκείνων τῶν θρυλλουμένων τῇ παλαιᾷ ἱστορίᾳ Ἀμφιλύτου καὶ Βάκιδος· ἔσχε μὲν οὖν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος εὐδαιμονέστατον ὅτι καὶ σώφρων καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, μεγαλοπρεπής τε καὶ εὐμαθὴς τὴν ἡμῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀναζωννύει, βασιλέων ἀγλάισμα. καὶ ἐπευφημεῖ σοι πᾶσα γῆ τε καὶ θάλαττα· ὁ δὲ ὕμνος ἐμπίπλησιν ἁρμονίας καὶ τὰ ἑῷα φῦλα καὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια, καὶ συνανασχοῦσαι αἱ νίκαι σου τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ συνδραμοῦσαι λαμπρῶς τὸ περίγειον ἅπαν περιχορεύουσι, καὶ ἄχρι τῶν ἐπιζεφυρίων λήξεων συγκαταίρουσι· καὶ ὁ τῷ χορῷ τὰ ἄσματα χορηγῶν ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς ἐξάρχει καὶ τοῦ | τον λαμπρό- *O 188* τερον διατίθησιν ἢ Δαίδαλος ἐκεῖνον, ὃν ἐν Κνωσῷ τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ καὶ τῇ Ὁμήρου δέλτῳ θαῦμα ἐξήσκησε. διὸ καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐξέχεταί σου ὥσπερ τῆς μαγνήτιδος τὰ σιδήρια, συνὸν μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐνδημοῦντι καὶ συναπαῖρον ἀπαίροντι, ὅτι τῷ σωρῷ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν σπουδὴν ἐπεστοίβασας. καὶ ἤδη τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἀπολιμπάνουσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν Δίκην φασίν, ἐπανήγαγες καὶ ζηλωτὴν | ἐποίησας καὶ περί- *E 135* βλεπτον. καὶ κομίζῃ παρὰ ταύτης τοὺς λόγους φόρον ἐπέτειον· καὶ θύει σοι καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἐκ μέσης ψυχῆς ἐθέλει χαρίζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιχαρίζῃ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐπαίνων χάριν ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται μηδὲ γράφεταί τις αὐτὴν εἰρωνείας ὡς πλασματίας τοὺς λόγους καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξυφαί-

213 ἀλλοκόταις O 220 γὰρ om. O ποδαπὸν E 221 αὐτὸς...οὐρανόθεν: οὐρανόθεν αὐτὸς ἐδόθης E 229 σε O πᾶσα: om. O θάλασσα O 234 Δαίδαλον O 243 αὐτὴν om. O

νουσαν. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀναπλάττεταί σοι καὶ τρέφεται καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀκμὴν ἀναβλαστάνει καὶ ἀνατρέχει, καὶ κυίσκει καὶ τίκτει παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς περικειμένους εὐγένειαν. καὶ περικέχυται ταύτην ἵμερος καὶ κεστός, οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἔκλυτός τε καὶ εὐδιάρρυτος, ἀλλ᾽ ὅν ἐξασκοῦσιν ἀρεταὶ λογικαί, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀκηράτων λειμώνων ἄνθη καὶ ἡ τῶν θείων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων γνῶσίς τε καὶ ἀνάληψις. ἔχουσιν οἱ παῖδες οὗτοι φιλοσοφεῖν οὐρανοῦ περιόδους καὶ φάσεις καὶ συμφάσεις ἀστέρων, καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα σώζειν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη, καὶ συνόδους καὶ ἀποστάσεις διασωζούσας τὸ ἀμετάπτωτον, καὶ πλάτη καὶ μήκη τούτων διασαφεῖν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποικιλίαν ὁπόσης τὰ ἀνώτερα μεμέστωται, τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα τῆς ὄψεως πάθη καὶ τὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ὕπαρξιν, διαφορὰς καὶ θέσεις πνευμάτων, καὶ ὅπως καὶ διὰ τί τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτὸ τὰς νεφώδεις ἕλκει συστάσεις καὶ ἀντιμεθιστᾷ, τὸ δ᾽ ἀνέλκει τὸν χοῦν καὶ ἀνυψοῖ κατὰ κῶνον καὶ ἀνάγει καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αἰθέριον, ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας φύσεις ἐναποτεθεῖσαν σοφίαν τοῦ κτίσαντος καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερφυῆ καὶ ἄσχετον ἰσχύν τε καὶ ἀγαθότητα. τοιαῦτα, μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ, τὰ ἑαυτῆς γεννήματα φιλοσοφία σοι παριστᾷ, τοιαῦτά σοι καρποφορεῖ τὰ γεώργια. ἐντεῦθέν σοι τὰ τῆς πολιτείας διακοσμεῖται καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης καὶ ὡραΐζεται, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἔχοι τὸ ἀνενδεὲς καὶ τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον. οὕτω σοι τῆς καρδίας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ δορυφορουμένης χειρὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ψυχῆς συμπαρομαρτεῖ τῇ ἀγλαΐᾳ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ συζεύγνυται δικαιοσύνη τῇ κρίσει καὶ πατρικὴν τὴν σὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναδείκνυσι, δι᾽ ἣν καὶ Πέρσαι Κῦρον πατέρα καλῶς ὠνόμαζον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δεσπότην ὡς τὸν Καμβύσην διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἄμυναν· ὃν οὕτως αὐτὸς ἠγνόησας, ὡς καὶ πολλῶν ἁμαρτήματα ὕλην ἐποιήσω φιλανθρωπίας, καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀμείλικτον κατεμάλαξας. πέφυκας γὰρ θεοειδὴς καὶ βασιλεύεις εὔνοιαν ἐπισπώμενος. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἑταιρίας τὴν παροινίαν ἤνεγκε πράως καὶ ὁμαλῶς, οὐδὲ τὸ τραχὺ τοῦ ζέοντος κατελέανεν· ἠμύνατο δὲ καὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ τὸν Φιλώταν ἀπέκτεινε. σωφρόνως γὰρ καὶ μετρίως τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διέθου, καὶ καλοῦ παντὸς ἀρχέτυπον ἐχρημάτισας, ἐν ἀκμῇ νεότητος βεβηκὼς ἀναδεικνύμενος καὶ πραότατος, ἵνα τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς καὶ μὴ τῆς ἡλικίας τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων λογίζοιτο. οὐ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς συστοιχίας ἐν μέσαις ἡλικίαις Ἀλέξανδρος σωφρονῶν καὶ Μέτελλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας οἰκουρῶν καὶ ἀπόμαχος. διὸ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀφορμὰς παρέδωκας λόγων, καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις πάντων ἐγγέγραψαι καί ἐνεστήλωσαι ταύταις καὶ ἕστηκας οὐ χρυσοῦς, οὐ χαλκοῦς, οὐχ ὁμώνυμος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνοπτριζόμενος ὅλος ἔμ-

253 μεμέστωσαι O   254 διαφορὰν O   255 ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸ om. E   256 ἀνέλκει : ἀνέχει O   262 πάντοθεν O   271 κατελέανε E   271 - 272 ἠμύνατο... ἀπέκτεινε om. E   275 τῆς ἡλικίας : τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας codd. τὰ om. E   279 in margine ἄνθρωπος δηλονότι ἐζωγραφημένος E

πνους καὶ ζῶν καὶ διομιλῶν καὶ ἀνιστορούμενος. φροῦδα πρὸς τὰ σὰ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος παραβαλλόμενα. ναὶ γὰρ Βάκτρα διέβη, Ἰνδοῖς ἐπεκώμασε, παρεστήσατο πόλεις καὶ λαοὺς | *E 135v* ἐπεσπάσατο. ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ῥυθμὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμαλότητα τοῦ ἤθους οὐ διεσώσατο. τὸ γὰρ διαπρεπὲς τῶν ἔργων ὁ μεταρριπισμὸς τοῦ τρόπου ὕστερον ἐπεσκίασεν. ἀνδρεῖος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάροινος, τροπαιοῦχος καὶ νικητής, ἀλλὰ κατεπόθη τῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀνοιδήματι καὶ ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐνύβρισεν εἰς τὸ φίλιον, καὶ ἀντὶ Ἕλληνος διεγελᾶτο ὡς βάρβαρος, καὶ ἀπεγύμνου τὰ ξίφη κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τοὺς συνεργάτας τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων συγκοινωνοὺς μιαιφονίαις ἠμείψατο, καὶ πρὸς φορυτὸν ἑτέρων ἀπρεπῶν ἐξώκειλε πράξεων. σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν τῇ τετρακτύι τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θέσεων διεμέρισας· νῦν μὲν διεπεπονήκεις ἀρκτῷος· αὖθις τῷ τῆς μεσημβρίας ἐβλήθης καύσωνι· ἑσπέριος παμπληθεῖς τροπαιουχίας ἀνήγειρας, ἑῷος συνανέτειλας τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ Θαιμὰν ἀστὴρ ἐπανῆλθες ἀρίζηλος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λῆξιν ταύτην ἀριστειῶν ὑπερφυῶν ἀνεπλήρωσας, καὶ ὡς πῦρ ἀφανιστικὸν κατὰ φρυγάνων τῶν Περσῶν ὥρμησας· καὶ τὰ τούτων κατενεμήθης ὡραῖα, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐνετάκη τὰς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔτι ἔγκειται καὶ ἀτρεμοῦσιν ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ γαλήνη βαθεῖα συνέχει καὶ κατέχει τὰ ἡμέτερα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἤθους εὐρυθμία καὶ ἔτι ἀκμαιότερον χωρεῖ καὶ ἀναλάμπει φαιδρότερον, καὶ προχωρῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν νικᾷς, φιλανθρωπίας ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίαις, δικαιοσύνας ἐπὶ δικαιοσύναις, ἐπ᾽ εὐεργεσίαις εὐεργεσίας αὔξων καὶ μεγεθύνων, καὶ ἀγαθύνων τὴν κληρουχίαν, καὶ βελτίων ἑαυτοῦ ἀεὶ εὑρισκόμενος.ἐπὶ δὲ τοσούτοις εὐπραγήμασιν μετριοπαθῶν, νικῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλεις τῷ νικητικῷ ὑπέχειν στεφάνῳ τὴν κεφαλήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναδύῃ τὸν ἐπιδίφριον θρίαμβον, ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν δημοτικὴν ὑψηγορίαν καὶ ἀνακήρυξιν. ἐθέλεις ὡς εἷς τῶν μηδὲν εἰσενεγκαμένων συμμετριάζειν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἰσχύι τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγράφεσθαι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ποιῶν, καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἐποίησεν ἂν μεγαλουργεῖν ἐφιέμενος διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ μετριοπαθείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμετεωρίστοις εὐδοκοῦντα καὶ ἐπινεύοντα. διὸ καὶ αἰχμὴν παραιτῇ καὶ χαλκὸν ἀστράπτοντα ἀποστρέφῃ καὶ βαρείας ἵππου πλῆθος ἀποποιῇ, τῇ δὲ ὑπερμάχῳ καὶ νικοποιῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν ἁρματηλασίαν τῆς σῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνατιθέμενος, ἀσματογραφεῖς τοὺς ὑμνητηρίους καὶ προπορεύῃ φιλοτίμως ἐξᾴδων τὰ χαριστήρια. | *O 188v* μὴ γένοιτό σοι γῆρας μηδὲ θάνοις, εἰ δυνατόν. ἀλλάττοιτό σοι κατὰ τὸν θεῖον προφήτην ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ ἀνακαινίζοιτο, καὶ πτεροφυήσεις ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἂν εὐδαιμονῇ τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὑπορρεῖ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ διαμένῃ εὐπτόητον, καὶ ὠμόϋπνον ἀνεγείροιτο ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν

281 μάκτρα O   289 ἐγκωμίων O   292 θοιμὰν O   296 - 297 κατέχει καὶ συνέχει O   379 ἀκμαιοτέρα E   299 φιλανθρωπίας O   302 ὑπέχειν τῷ νικητικῷ E   307 παραιτεῖ O   311 φιλοτιμῶν E νικητήρια O   313 an legendum πτεροφυήσειας ?

πτοίας καὶ τῷ παρατυχόντι ἐκδειματούμενον. δοίη σοι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῷ ἐν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀδελφοῖς υἱῷ ἐκλέκτῳ ὁ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλεύς, καὶ οὕτω τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀργήσοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ αἱ ζιβύναι τούτοις εἰς δρέπανα μεταποιηθήσονται. εἰρήνης ἐξάρχεις, ὅτι τοῦτο βασιλικόν· καταλύεις πολέμους, ὅτι τοῦτο φιλόνεικον καὶ ἀνάγκης υἱὸς ὁ πόλεμος· συνέχεις τὸ πολίτευμα· τὴν εὐνομίαν διατηρεῖς· δικαιοσύνην διώκεις καὶ ἐπικαταλαμβάνεις τὸ δίκαιον.

καὶ κατάλεγέ μοι, δικορρητόρων ἡ φάλαγξ, τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νεαρὰ διατάγματα, τὴν διόρθωσιν τοῦ χωλεύοντος, τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐνδέοντος. διηγοῦ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος βαθεῖαν φρένα καὶ εὐεπήβολον· πῶς καὶ ὑμῶν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ φῶς καὶ λύχνος οὗτος ἐγένετο, καὶ εὑρέθη ὡς ὀρθρὸς ἕτοιμος τὸ προφητικόν, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν σκοτεινῶν διελεύκανεν. ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνιστόρει τὸν πολιοῦχον, τὸν πολυμήχανον, τὸν εὐμήχανον, τὰ
E 136 τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρύματα, τὰ τῆς γῆς ὀχυρώματα, | τὸν παράκτιον κολωνόν, τὸν ἐνάλιον σκόπελον, ὅπως ἥλοις τὰ ξύλα συνέβαλεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ βάθος διήκουσι, καὶ τὸ κύτος ὕλης ἐπλήρωσεν εἰς θεμελίου χρείαν ἀρκούσης τοῖς ἑρματίζουσιν, καὶ ἥδρασεν ἐν τούτοις τὸ πελάγιον τεῖχος, λίθον προσκόμματος. φράζε μοι τὸν ζωστῆρα τῆς ὑγρᾶς τὸν σιδήρεον, τὸ χαλκήλατον σχοίνιον, τὸ τρίπλοκον, τὸ παρὰ τῇ γραφῇ ἀρραγές. τῶν βαρβαρικῶν δρομώνων τὸ ἀποτείχισμα, τῆς πειρατικῆς τριήρους τὸ κατασόφισμα, τῆς ἑσπέρας καὶ τῆς ἕω τὸν σύνδεσμον. κοσμείτω σου τὸν λόγον ἡ ἀγλαΐα τῆς πόλεως, ὁ ἐπισκευασμὸς τῶν τειχέων, αἱ τούτων ἐπιβολαί, αἱ τῶν ἐπάλξεων στεφάναι αἱ νεοποίητοι, ὁ τοσοῦτος ἅπας περίβολος ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ μετεωρότερον. ὢ πόσης εὐδαιμονίας, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀγαθουργίας, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐνέπλησε καὶ περὶ ταῦτα διεπονήθη φιλοτιμότερον· καὶ δεῦρο ἡ τῆς θείας ἱεραρχίας ἀκρότης, οἱ τελετάρχαι τῆς μυστικῆς ἁγιστείας, οἱ παναγεῖς οἰκονόμοι τῆς χάριτος, ὑψώσατε φωνήν, ὡς ἐν σάλπιγγι τὰς αὐτοκρατορικὰς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἀνακηρύξατε, τὸν θεῖον ζῆλον, τῶν ἔργων τὴν περιφάνειαν, τὰ χρυσῷ περίλαμπρα τρίγλυφα, τῶν ἱερῶν ὀρόφων ⟨τὰ⟩ τορευτὰ ὑποστρώματα, τὰς προσφυῶς τὰς ἄκρας τῶν χρωμάτων αὐγὰς ἀλλήλαις καταμιγνυούσας, τῶν ψηφίδων συνθέσεις εἰς ἄκραν ἐμφέρειαν τοῦ διαγραφομένου θείου μορφώματος, τὰς ἐκ τούτων χρυσοφόρους στοὰς καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν λάϊνον ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τῶν πολυχρόων λίθων περιαστράπτοντα, ὃν τὰ τῶν ἀγλαοφανῶν ἱερῶν σηκῶν ἐνέδυσαν ἀναστήματα, ἅμα πληγέντα καὶ πεσόντα δεινῶς, ἅμα δ' ἀναστάντα καὶ διασκευασθέντα λαμπρότερον, τὰς ἐπετείους ἀπαρχάς,

324 διηγοῦ om. E 325 καὶ ante φῶς om. E 326 ἡμῖν O 329 συνέλαβε O 330 ἑρματίζουσι O 333 δρυμώνων O 335 σου om. O 336 οἱ...στέφανοι O 338 ἢ om. O ἐνέπλησεν O 344 καταμιγνυούσαις E 345 θείοις O

τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸν ὄγκον, τὴν αἴγλην τῆς γραφῆς τὴν πάντας ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ εὐωχοῦσαν καὶ ἐπιστρέφουσαν, τοὺς κουφισμοὺς τῆς ἀχθηδόνος καὶ τῶν φόρων τὴν ἄνεσιν τοῖς μέν, τοῖς θειοτάτοις λέγω τεμένεσιν, ἐπιφιλοτιμηθεῖσαν ἰδίως ἐφ' ὅσοις νεωκοροῦσιν οἱ τῆς μυστικῆς τελεταρχίας ἐξάρχοντες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κοινῶς διαβᾶσαν, ὅσοι κατὰ πᾶσαν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκηπτουχίας τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τὴν φωτοποιὸν καὶ θειότερον ἐτελέσθησαν μύησιν. οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἰωσὴφ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βεβήλων μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ φιλότιμον, κἂν κατὰ λόγους ἄλλους οἰκονομίας τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις τὰ τοῦ ἔργου συγκαταλέγηται. μετὰ τούτους καὶ σύ, ὁ στρατιώτης, διατόροις κατακελάδει φωναῖς τὰ ὑπερφυῆ τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεκτήματα,—ἰδοὺ καὶ τῇ σῇ παρόδῳ τὰς βαλβῖδας ὑπανῆκε τὸ Πανελλήνιον,—τὴν τῆς φύσεως δεξιότητα, τῆς πολεμικῆς ἐμπειρίας τὴν ἔνδειξιν, τὰς ἀγχιστρόφους περιδινήσεις καὶ τὸ περιὸν τῆς ῥωμαλεότητος· ὅπως μιᾷ πληγῇ τρεῖς κελλητίζοντας ἐξεσφαίρισε, θαῦμα καὶ ἰδέσθαι καὶ ἐνωτίσασθαι· καὶ ὅπως κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας σιδηροφορῶν μονονουχὶ συμπέφυκε τῇ σκευῇ. λέγε πῶς ὁ ἀρκτῷος κρυμὸς καὶ ὁ τοῦ θέρους καύσων εὐκρασίας ἀέρων ἡδίων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, καὶ Πλειὰς δύνουσα καὶ ἐπιτέλλων Ὠρίων τοῦτον θαμὰ τοῖς πολέμοις ἔχουσιν ἐπιπίπτοντα, καὶ τὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀκόρεστον ἔρωτα πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν εἰρήνης τρέποντά τε καὶ μεταβάλλοντα. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐδ' εἰς πεῖραν χειρῶν ἐλθεῖν ὅλως ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἤρκεσεν ὁ φόβος τὰ τῆς πείρας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰς μὲν εἰς δορατίων ἄφεσιν οὐκ ἀπέτειναν, εἰς δὲ σπονδὰς καὶ συνθήκας καὶ λίαν εὐθύμως ἥπλωσαν. | καταρίθμει τὰ ἐν ὑπερορίοις δαπέδοις καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἱππη- *E 136v*
λάσια, τὰς ἀγρονόμους διαίτας, τοὺς ἐξαγριουμένους ἀέρας, τοὺς φρουράρχας καὶ τοὺς φρουρούς, οὓς κατατάττειν οἶδεν ἐπιστημόνως τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατακτώμενος, καὶ ἅπαν μὲν ἐξοριάζων τὸ λυμαινόμενον, ἀντεισάγων δὲ ἁπανταχῇ τὸ σωτήριον, καὶ μεθιστῶν τὰ δυσχερῆ πρὸς εὐπάθειαν, τὰ κατὰ Παιόνων στρατολογήματα, τὰ κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ Κιλίκων σεμνολογήματα, τῶν παριστρίων πειρατῶν τὴν πανωλεθρίαν, τὰ Παννονίων εἴτουν Γηπαίδων ἀλλεπάλληλα πτώματα, δι' ἃ καὶ Σκύθης ὑπέκυψε καὶ Σαυρομάτης ἐδούλευσε, καὶ συνεστάλη πᾶν τὸ ἀλλόφυλον, τὴν εὐοχωτάτην ἱππείαν, τὴν εὐστοχωτάτην τοξείαν, τὴν διαρκεστάτην ὁπλοφορίαν, τῶν ἀρίστων ἔργων τὴν αὐτουργίαν. πῶς καὶ Περσῶν πολλάκις παρατάξεις φρακτὸς ἀκοντίστης ἐξορμήσας διέλυσε, τοὺς μὲν διατεμών, τοὺς δὲ ζωγρήσας, ἄλλους ἀκρωτηριάσας, ἐνίους δὲ λωβησάμενος. καὶ ὅπως καὶ Δακῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνεῖλε μόνος τοῦ πλήθους ὑπεκδραμὼν καὶ παμπληθεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ προσε-

358 ἐπαινομέναις E συγκαταλέγεται O 360 τὰς om. O 364 σιδηροφορεῖν codd. 366 ἰδίων O 368 πρέποντά O 375 ἅπας O μὲν om. E 379 Γηπίδων E 382 παρατάσεις O

νεχθείς, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους ἀνταίρειν φιλονεικοῦντας ταῖς πυκναῖς ἐφόδοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ βάλλων αὐτόχειρ καὶ προχωρῶν αὐτόπους καὶ ἐφιστάμενος καὶ πλήττων αὐτοσώματος χανεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν ἐπεύχεσθαι κατηνάγκασε, πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἀπειρηκότας ναυάγιον, *O 189* | καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον μηδὲ καιρὸν ἀνιεμένους λαβεῖν προσελεύσεώς τε καὶ ὑποπτώσεως. προστίθει τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς εὐτολμίας ὑποτυπώματα, καί σοι διατρανούσθω τὸ ἐν δεινοῖς ἀκατάπληκτον· παρδάλεις οἰστρουμένας καὶ ἄρκτους ὠρυομένας ὑποδείκνυε τῷ φιλοθεάμονι.

ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ ζῷον ἴταμον τὸ θηρίον καὶ βλοσυρόν· πῦρ ἐμβλέπει, φρίττει τὴν λοφίαν, τὴν δειρὴν ὀρθιάζει ὀξύ τι καὶ μανικὸν ἐναλλόμενον κἀν τοῖς στέρνοις περιφέρον σφοδρὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐναυλιζόμενον τοῦ θυμοῦ. ἐπισυνάγει δὲ κατὰ γραμμὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς, δεινόν τι καὶ φρικαλέον ἐπιχαλᾷ καὶ τὸ ἐπισκύνιον, καὶ τὴν χαίτην ἐλευθέραν ἐπαῖρον, ὑπὸ μυκτῆρσιν ὀρθοῖς μακρὸν καὶ κοῦφον ἀνασκιρτᾷ, τὰς ἀκωκὰς τῶν ὀνύχων ὀξυπαγεῖς ὑπὸ πλατείαις ταῖς βάσεσι προισχόμενον, στέρνον καὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὸ εἰς ὄνυχα ἧκον τὰ πάντα λάσιον, στικτὸν καὶ ἀμφιλαφές, ἐκ βοροῦ τοῦ γενείου τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑποφαίνων καρχάρους τε καὶ βορούς. ὡς δεινὰ ταυτὶ τὰ θήρια καὶ πτοιαλέον τίθησι καὶ τὸν θρασυκάρδιον. σὺ δε φράζε πῶς ἐπετόλμησε καὶ τούτοις ὁ γενναιότατος βασιλεύς, καὶ κύνας Λάκαινας καὶ τὴν τούτων ῥινηλασίαν παραιτησάμενος, καὶ δορυφόρων πληθὺν καὶ συμμορίαν ἐπακτήρων ἀποπεμψάμενος, ἀνεμοτρεφὲς καὶ στερρὸν ἐπανετείνατο τὸ προβόλιον. ἀνεσείσθη τὸ ἕλος· ἐξέθορε τῆς λόχμης ὁ θήρ· οὐ μόνος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλος ὁμοῦ, ζεῦγος ἐρινυῶδες σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀτίθασσον καὶ λανθάνειν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον. καὶ βάλλεται μὲν ὁ μείων ὑπὸ θαρροῦντος πρότερον τοῦ ἱππότου ὅλῃ χειρὶ βαρείᾳ καὶ σθεναρᾷ, μήπω μηδὲ φθάσας ἀνασκιρτῆσαι, μηδὲ τῷ ἀντιμάχῳ ἐπιπεσεῖν, καὶ παραχρῆμα νεκροῦται τὴν πληγὴν καιρίαν μάλα ἀπενεγκάμενος· ὁ δέ, ὁ μείζων καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι δεινὸς καὶ συγχέαι καὶ τὸν ἄγαν ἀκαταπτόητον, καὶ ἀνασκιρτᾷ καὶ ὁρμᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι μετέωρος φέρεσθαι ἔνθα τὸ συνάπτον τὴν πλάτην τῇ δέρῃ διελάσαν τὸ ἀκόντιον *E 137* | ὑποδέχεται, ἅμα δ' ἐγγίσας καὶ τὴν ἄνω γένυν τῷ ξίφει πλήττεται, καὶ συνεκκόπτεται καὶ τὰς γνάθους καὶ διαδονεῖται καὶ κατασπᾶται ὁ δεινὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρικαλέος εἰς γῆν, οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν τῶν ἀπολέκτων κἂν τῷ σπαίρειν ἐκδειματῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ νεκρούμενος. ὢ οἷον τοῦτον εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχείων ἐκτάδην κείμενον.

ἔχει μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα. καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥρωος πρᾶξις ἀεὶ νικᾷ, καὶ χαίρει καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡττώμενος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι λιχνεύεται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῆς παροιμίας

388 χανεῖν αὐτοῖς om. O   394 βλοσσυρὸν E ἐμβέπει O   398 ἐλεύθερον O   401 τὰ om. O   403 τίθησιν E ἐπετόλμησας O   407 ἄλλο O   411 μάλα καιρίαν O   417 καὶ E

Σκύθης, ὅ φασι, καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λίθος αὖθις ἀδίαντος καὶ σκληρὸς κἂν ἑψόμενος διέμεινεν εἰς μακρόν, ὅτιπερ ὁ Παίων τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πάλιν ἀρρώστημα, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων δεσμούς, ἐδέσμευσε, καὶ ἐνετάκη τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ τὴν ὁσιότητα ἐβδελύξατο. εἶπεν ʼσν τῇ ἰσχύι ποιήσω καὶ τὰ ὅρκια ἐξορχήσομαι· ἐνδύσομαι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ βραχίονός μου καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι οἰχέσθωσαν. οὐκ ἐλογίσατο ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου ὁρᾷ εὐθύτητας καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν· καὶ ῥήματα ἀνδρὸς ἀληθινοῦ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἰὼβ ἀγαθὰ οὐχ ἡγήσατο· ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀλγημάτων ἴαμα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλγήμασιν ἄλγημα οὐ προσέθετο. δειλαινόμενος δὲ καθάπερ ὁ πολύπους διὰ τὸ πάθος ἀπὸ χρόας εἰς χρόαν μεταμορφάζεται. οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πῇ μὲν ἀπεποιεῖτο τὸ ἄστοργον, πῇ δὲ μετενεδύετο τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν καὶ τὸν ἄπνουν καὶ τὸν ἀκίνητον ὑπεκρίνετο, πῦρ ὑπὸ σποδιᾷ κρύπτων, γνώμην πονηρὰν ὑπ' εὐνοίας προσχήματι· καὶ διετίθει τὸν δόλον καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ὡμήρευε, συνασπισμοὺς εἰς ἀντιστασίαν καὶ ἀντιπαράταξιν μηχανώμενος, ὅπως λαθὼν ἐπιχάνοι τινὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ φίλιον καί τι τούτου παρασυλήσεται. ὅθεν καὶ συνέλαβεν ἀνομίαν καὶ πόνον ὠδίνησε τὸν ἀτίθασσον, φθόνον ἑαυτοῦ προστησάμενος καὶ εἰς θυμοὺς ἀκαίρους ἀποταυρούμενος. καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγρονόμον Δάκα τὸν ὀριτρόφον μετῆλθεν ὅλον καὶ ὑπεσπείσατο, ἔθνος πολυσπερὲς καὶ εὐπεριόριστον οὐμενοῦν, προχοαῖς Ἰστριάσι περικλυζόμενον, καὶ Βουμελίων καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἄχρι παρεκτεινόμενον, παραπτόμενον ῥόνων Ἀδρίου, καὶ περιοικοῦν τὸν Ἰόνιον, περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀγνωμονέστατον, μήτε φιλίας χάριν εἰδὸς μήτε τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ ἐπιμελείας καὶ προμηθείας τὴν δουλικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν μέχρι πέρατος ἀντιχαριζόμενον, πετρῶν ῥωγάδας καὶ γῆς ὀπὰς ἀποκρύφους ὑποδυόμενον, περὶ τὴν παρακειμένην διερπύζον ὕλην ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κρυπτόμενον, εἰς λήθην παραγγέλματος προχειρότατον, καὶ κρημνοῖς ἀμφιρρόποις καὶ ὄρεσι τραχέσιν ἐνδιαιτώμενον. τὸ πολυάριθμον οὖν τοῦτο καὶ εὐμετάγωγον ὁ Παίων ὑπαγαγόμενος στράτευμα, ὅτι ταῖς συχναῖς ἐξ ἀφροσύνης κακώσεσιν ἐξελύττησεν, ἀνέσχε τὴν δειρὴν καὶ εἰς κενταυρικὸν καὶ ἀγέρωχον καὶ πάλιν ἦθος ἐξώλισθε, καὶ τῶν ταλάντων τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἄρτι πειράσασθαι ἀπεμάχετο, μήποτε ὑπενδῶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπεραρθήσεται. τοιούτους ὑπὸ κόλπων θάλπων τοὺς λογισμούς, καὶ τῶν ὁρκίων παραχαράξας τοὺς γνώμονας, ἐν βουλαῖς ἀδοκίμοις κατεπαννύχιζε, καὶ ῥύμαις ἀλλοκότοις κατεβακχεύετο. τὸ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ὑποτεταγμένον τοιοῦτον καὶ οὕτως ἔχει·

422 φασιν E   423 κἂν : καὶ O διέμεινε O   424 πάλαι O   426 εἰπόντα O   427 τὸ om. E   436 ἀντιπαράτασιν O   437 παραπυλήσεται O   438 ἑαυτῷ O   439 ἀποσταυρούμενος O   443 τὸ Ἰόνιον O εὐγνωμονέστατον O   445 ῥογάδας O   446 ἀποδυόμενον O διερπύζων O   449 συχναῖς : σαῖς O   450 κενταυρισμὸν E   451 καὶ ante πάλιν om. E   452 μήτε... ὑπεραρθήσονται O   455 ὑποτεταμένον O οὗτος O

E 137v στασιάζει καιροῦ λαβόμενον καὶ ἀντεξανίσταται· | τὸ δὲ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς εὐνοίας κρατούμενον βεβαίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν τὴν εὐπείθειαν. τῷ τοίνυν τῆς ἀνευσταθοῦς φρενὸς εὐρίπῳ φερόμενος τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιβούλους χεῖρας ἐπέβαλε, καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς χαρακτῆρας ταύτης ἐνόθευσε, τοὺς τιθέντας ὅρους μετέπηξε, κατέλυσεν ἃ ᾠκοδόμησε, παρὰ τὰς αὔλακας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνητο. τὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνο πιότατον καὶ ἔμβιον ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὸ Σίρμιον, ἐμελέτησεν ὑποσπάσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν παριστρίων πεδίων ἐπέκεινα, ἐν φυλέταις ἀλλογλώσσοις καὶ ἔνθεσιν ἀλλοθρόοις καὶ πόλεσι μεγίσταις καὶ χώραις ἐπιγραφαῖς γεωγραφούμενα, ὁπόσα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκλεεστάτοις κληροδοτήμασιν ὁ τῶν πώποτε σκηπτούχων ἐξοχώτατος τροπαιοῦχος καὶ νικητὴς αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸ μικροῦ συνῆψε καὶ συναπένειμε. τί *O 189v* γοῦν οὗτος | αὐτὸς τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περιλάλητον ὄνομά τε καὶ ἄκουσμα; ὁ τῆς ὑλικῆς δυάδος ἐπέκεινα νοῦς, ὁ πεπυκνωμένος καὶ ἀπὸ πείρας καὶ ἀπὸ φύσεως, ἐπίσης φεύγων ἑκάτερα καὶ τάχος ἀπερίσκεπτον καὶ μέλλησιν ἄπρακτον, λέων, ὅ φασι, μετὰ ξίφους, ἐπέρχεται πρότερον τῷ τὴν ἀποστασίαν προαλεστάτην ποιησαμένῳ λασιοκώφῳ Δακί, πάνυ βραχεῖαν καὶ ὅση παρευρέθη καὶ τὴν θεραπειαν καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἐπισυρόμενος, καὶ ἐμβριμᾶται μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ μετὰ κυρείας βραχίονος. καὶ ἐθρύβη τὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἐρχομένου συναγαγεῖν κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τοῦ ἀποστατήσαντος, τοῦ πᾶσαν διεξεληλυθότος πληγὴν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρεπτικῶν μαστίγων καταφρονήσαντος. ὁ δὲ νυκτὶ ὡμοιώθη ὅτι ξέναις ἁμαρτίαις καὶ παραβάσεσιν ἐκοινώνησε, καὶ εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου ἅμα τῷ Παίονι συνελούσατο, καὶ ἐμολύνθη, τὸ παροιμιῶδες, πίσσης ἁψάμενος, καὶ ἄνθρακος γυμνῷ ποδὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπιψαύειν, τὸ Σολομώντειον, δειμαινόμενος ἐξεπλάγη· ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπεστάλη· ὑποσταλεὶς ὑπετάγη· ὑποταγεὶς ἐπέδωκεν εἰς ἀνετασμοὺς ἑαυτόν, εἰς δουλείαν ἐσχάτην, εἰς ὑπουργίαν καὶ αὐτουργίαν αὐτοπροαίρετον τῷ βασιλικῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνέκδημον, εἰς οὐραγὸν ὀπισθόπουν, εἰς προμετωπιδίους φαλαγγαρχίας ὑπηρετούμενον. πνεῦμα γάρ, φησι, κεκραγὸς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ ἀκηδιώσῃ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἤκουσε τὸ προφητικόν, συνάχθητι καὶ συνδέθητι ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον. διὰ τί γὰρ ὅλως γεγόνατε ἀλλοτρίων ἐμέτων παράσιτοι, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε τοῖς ἐκείνων βορβόροις τὰς ἑαυτῶν καρδίας καταμιαίνοντες. ἀνομία γὰρ ἀνόμου οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ τὸν ἄνομον ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ.

οὐκοῦν τῷ Παίονι διασκεδάσθη τὸ διαβούλιον καὶ ἀπέπτη καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ἐλπίς, καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην συνέσχεν ὁ πίθος ἀλλὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὀχυρώμασι

460 παρὰ : περὶ codd 461-467 τὸ τῆς γῆς...τί γοῦν οὗτος **in O legi non potest** 470 φασιν E τὸ O 471 προβουλεστάτην E 475 διεληλυθότος O τῶν : τοῦ O 479 δειλαινόμενος O 482 βασιλεικῷ O 484 κεκρατὸς O 486 γὰρ om. E 488 τὸ O 490 αὐτὴν O 491 ὀχυρώμασιν E

συνεξέπεσε, καὶ εἰς μοῖραν ἀντιμάχου ἀντικατέστη ὁ σύμμαχος καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τοὺς μίτους αὐτῆς ἐπέκλωθεν. ὡς γοῦν οὕτως ὁ Δὰξ ἐν ἀποτόμοις ἀκρωρείαις κινδύνου γέγονε καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ καρδίας ἐξιλάσατο τὸν εὐμείλικτον, καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐσχάτης δουλώσεως ζεύγλῃ τὸ τοῦ τραχήλου νεῦρον ὑπέθετο, καὶ τὸν δοθέντα ὑπεδέξατο ἀρχηγόν, ᾧ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὁ μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ κατηγγυήσατο, τὰ μὲν τῆς κατὰ τῶν Παιόνων παρατάξεως ἤδη προπύλαια ἡτοιμάζετο, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τελεσιουργὸν πρᾶξιν πάντα προκατεβάλλετο. κατὰ τακτικὰς διαιρέσεις ἡ πληθὺς κατετάττετο· ἐν κόσμῳ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ συγκεκροτημένῃ ἑνώσει προκεχώρηκε τὰ στρατεύματα· κατεπήγνυντο αἱ σκηναί· ἐπληροῦτο τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τά προαύλια ἅμα καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον· καὶ ἕκαστος ἑώρα δεινὸν καὶ τὸν εὐκλεᾶ μετεπορεύετο θάνατον. ἀνέφριττε τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς ἀνάρρουν τῷ | ἐναντίῳ ὑπανακοπτόμενον πνεύματι, καὶ ὑπεφαίνετο *E 138* μέλαν τῷ οἰδαινομένῳ ὑποπῖπτον καὶ σκιαζόμενον. ἔφριττον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ Ἴστρου τῇ ἀνατάσει τῶν πυκνῶν μελιῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐν παροχθίαις ὕλαις ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν τούτοις κατεσκιάζετο. τὰ δὲ πυρὰ πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπανεκαίετο. αἱ δὲ σκηναὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ταύταις ἐξετείνετο τὰ σχοινίσματα. ἤρθησαν αἱ σημαῖαι· ἀνήπτοντο οἱ φρυκτοί· τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἐξηχεῖτο ὄρθιόν τε καὶ Δώριον. πλήρη καὶ τῶν μονήρων καὶ τῶν διήρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως χρησίμων ἦσαν καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ οἱ ναυλόχοι. συνεκόπτετο τοῖς φαινομένοις ὁ Παίων, καὶ ὡς διακοπῇ φραγμοῦ συνεστῶτα οὐκ εἶχε τὰ φαῦλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ἐνωτίζετο γὰρ «ἐπεὶ ἐστράφης καὶ ἐποίησας πονηρά, οὐ μὴ ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ ἐλάλησα». καὶ καθεστὼς ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ διὰ τὸ μετάμελον, ἐν οἷς διενοεῖτο συνέτρεχε τοῖς τοῦ Ἄσματος, «ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν;» ἐνεπίμπρα γὰρ αὐτὸν καταθεωμένη ἡ καταπόρφυρος κλισιάς. καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐσχάτοις κακοῖς ἐνεμερίμνα τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν συμβουλαῖς ἐπιλυχνίοις κατέτεινε τῷ τοῦ πράγματος μεγέθει ἐναποπληττόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν. ἅπαν ὅπλον ῥίπτειν πολεμιστήριον ἤθελε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀποτόμου ἀθρόον εἰς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον κατεκλίνετο· κατασχεῖν ἠντιβόλει τὸν βασιλέα τὴν χεῖρα ἅμα θώρακι καὶ τῇ καθηκούσῃ σκευῇ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην καταρτυόμενον. ἀντίπορθμος τῷ χείλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρεκάθητο, καὶ θαλερὸν οἰμώζων ἐλιτάζετο θερμῷ τῷ ῥεύματι τῶν δακρύων καταβρέχων τὸν ἴουλον. ἐχρηματίζετο διὰ πρέσβεων, ὅσα καὶ γλώττῃ τούτοις ἐχρῆτο, ὅλοις ἱστίοις τοῦ λογισμοῦ τῷ στέμματι τοῦ τροπαιούχου κοσμήτορος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καὶ προσριπτούμενος καὶ ὑποφερόμενος. καταδειμαινόμενος γὰρ καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ σύσκευος ἱκέτης

492 ἀντεκατέστη O 493 ἀπέκλωθεν O γὰρ O ὁ Δὰξ **om.** O 494 ἐν **om.** E 497 τῶν **om.** O 498 κατὰ : καὶ O 508 φρακτοὶ O 512 ἐπὴ E 514 τὸν E 512 ἐνεπίπρα E ἀνεπίμπρα O 515 ἐνεδυσάμην O 516 ἀναθεωμένη O 517 ἀνεμερίμνα E κατέκτεινε O 520 θώραξι O 521 κατοικούσῃ O

προσήρχετο· τὴν Ἡράκλειον παρῃτεῖτο διασκευήν· ἀπετίνατε τὴν λεοντῆν· τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀπεπέμπετο. πυγμαῖος χαμαίζηλος ὑπάκουος τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ ἐγγραφῆναι ἠντιβόλει, καὶ προμηθεύεσθαι ἐταπεινοῦτο. τὴν ταινίαν, τοὺς στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὁρμούς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τοὺς μαργαρίτιδας λίθους ἀπέρριπτεν ὑπόσπονδος αὐτόμολος, καὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ στολῇ ἑαυτὸν διασκευαζόμενος ὅλον ὑπεδίδου τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ περὶ τοῦτον οἰκιδίῳ συνέταττεν, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ πολὺς ἀρχηγός, καὶ τὰ τῶν Καισάρων ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἰουλίων καὶ περιποιούμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ διεξιδιούμενος. οἱ τῆς Παιονίας πρέσβεις προσελιπάρουν τὴν ἀνοχὴν ὡς εἶδον καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπετασθεῖσαν τὴν φοινικίδα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως κνήμας καὶ τὰ περικαλλῆ σφύρα σιδηρένδυτα. πᾶν ὅτι καταθύμιον τῇ τούτου θεοστεφεῖ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐκεῖθεν μετεκομίζετο. ὡμηρεύετο τὰ τῆς καταθέσεως, καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν ἄλλα τε καὶ τῷ τῆς Βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμους δυναστείας ἀνεζωσμένοις ὅσους ὁ Παιονάρχης εἰς ἐχέγγυον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας παρεστήσατο καὶ παρέδωκεν, τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας παραθεμένους, ἀλλά γε δὴ καὶ τὰς κεφαλάς, εἰ περιτρώσει τὰς συνθεσίας ὑφ' αἷς ἰδοὺ τοῦτον ὁ θεοειδὴς σκηπτοῦχος παρακληθεὶς ἐπένευσε παραδέξασθαι.

E 138v τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τῆς Παιονίας συνήχθησαν ἄρχοντες, οὐχί, τὸ | τοῦ εἰπόντος σοφοῦ, εἷς οἰκοδομῶν καὶ εἷς καθαιρῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ συνεχεῖντο αἱ γλῶσσαι καὶ ἐμερίζοντο. ἐκ συμφωνίας δὲ *O 190* καὶ ἄκρας ἑνώσεως ἤδη καὶ τῶν τῆς τοῦ | πολέμου συρρήξεως ἀνεγερθέντων σημείων καὶ καταστάσης τῆς συμβουλῆς εἰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης διεπρεσβεύοντο, καὶ «δὸς ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην· πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας» ἀνεκραύγαζον, «οὐκέτι γὰρ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν ἀγαπήσομεν· ἐξελίπομεν, ἐμαράνθημεν, οὐκέτι ἄφοβοί ἐσμεν, οὐδὲ ἐν πύλαις αὐλισθησόμεθα, τῶν ἀγαθῶν διδασκαλίων καθεστηκότες ἀνήκοοι, οὐ βαθύχειλοι, οὐ βαρύγλωσσοι, οὐκ ἀλλόφωνοι, οὐδὲ στιβαροὶ τὴν φωνήν. ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐλεπτύνθημεν, καὶ ὡσεὶ κόνις ἐξελικνώθημεν. ὡς χωνευτήριον πῦρ εἰσπεπόρευσαι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, καὶ ὡς πόα πλυνόντων, καὶ ἐχώνευσας καὶ ἐδοκιμάσας ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐκπυρώσας ἐκαθάρισας καὶ ἐπαίδευσας. τὸ Σίρμιον ἐρρέτω τὸ τῆς Παιονίας πιότατον, τὸ ἱππάσιμον καὶ κατάρρυτον· τῆς σῆς ἔστω ἐξουσίας τοῦτο καὶ κυριότητος. ἄστρα μὲν δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῴχηκε δὲ πλείω νύξ, τριτάτη δέ τε μοῖρα λέλειπται. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῖν· τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας μικρὸν ἤδη καὶ συμπεραίνεται. ἔστω τὰ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Δαρδάνων τῶν σῶν ὁρίων καὶ

527 ἀπετίνασσε O 530 ἀπέκρυπτεν O 531 ἑαυτῷ O 534 ἐξιδιούμενος O 536 τὰ φοινικίδια O 538 τε : γε O 539 - 547 βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ... ἤδη καὶ τῶν τῆς in O vix legi potest 550 τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν κινεῖν O
βαθυ
553 βραδύγλωσσοι O 556 ἐκαθαίρισας O 558 τοῦτο ἐξουσίας E 559 τε : τοι O 560 τῷ ἐντεῦθεν O

σχοινισμάτων, ἀπεσπάσθω τῶν ἡμετέρων, προσενούσθω τοῖς σοῖς. ἐφ' ὅσον τοῦ σοῦ δόρατος ἔφθασεν ἡ σκιὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῶν σῶν πτερύγων πιπτέτω, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐπέκεινα μόνον ἄνες ἡμῖν. καὶ μὴ οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ οἷα κατακαίων πρηστὴρ ἐπίκεισο· μήκετι πλήξεις ἡμᾶς. πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος ἀνέβη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τόπον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀφήκαμεν, ὅτι καταπαύσει ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας ἴαμα. ἀπάλειψον ὡς νεφέλην τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. καὶ ὁ Χορβάτης καὶ ὁ Βοσναῖος τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγραφήτωσαν ἄξοσιν. συγκαταλεγέσθωσαν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν σκηπτουχίαν καὶ ὁ ταινιοῦχος τῆς Παιονίας ναὸς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦτον μητρόπολις, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Παιοναρχῶν βασίλειος στέφανος τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι. ὑπόφορά σοι ἔστω τὰ ὅλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνατιτλούσθωσαν κύρβεσι. γαιοδεσίας ἐκτίθεσο. δασμοφορείτω τὸ πᾶν ἐν τίτλοις· μηδὲν ἀσυντελὲς ἔστω, ὁ ἀρχηγός, οἱ ἱεραὶ ἀγελάρχαι, ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἱερομυστῶν, οἱ λογάδες τοῦ πλήθους, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι, οἱ λογχοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν παρατάξεων, οἱ τοῦ κοινοτέρου καὶ σύγκλυδος λαοῦ ὅμιλοι, ἔνορκοι, εὔορκοι, ἀσφαλεῖς ὁμόται, βέβαιοι κατεγγυηταί. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀχράντοις λογίοις, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θειοτέροις συμβόλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοις σεσώσμεθα ἀσφαλεστάτας μοι τὰς πίστεις διδόασιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἴχνος ἐνδοιασμοῦ ὑπολείποιτο. οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκκρίτων ὁμηρεύειν ἐπὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τῇ βεβαιώσει ἐμπαρεχόμενοι, σφραγῖσιν ἀδιαπτώτοις τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν περικλείοντες τοῖς ἕνδεκα τούτων ἀγχιθύροις ἀρχηγοῖς ἐπιφανέσι καὶ περιόπτοις εἰς ἐχέγγυον ἐντελὲς καὶ ὀχύρωμα ἀνεκμόχλευτον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκόσι καὶ τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον.

τοιαύτης τῆς σῆς χειρὸς ἀπῃωρημένης ἢ μᾶλλον ἐπικειμένης τοῖς Παίοσι, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς ἐσχάτη ταπείνωσις. ἐταλάνισαν ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι σοι ὅλως ἀντικατέστησαν· ἐμακάρισαν ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι συνῆκαν καὶ ἐπεστράφησαν, καὶ τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς σοῖς ἐνεθάλφθησαν, καὶ ζωογόνου αὔρας ἀπήλαυσαν. περιεδύθησαν τὸ τῆς μελαίνης χιτώνιον τῆς κατασχούσης κατηφείας αὐτούς, καὶ σωτηρίου ἱμάτιον ἐνεδύσαντο. ἐθλίβησαν ὅτιπερ ὀπίσω τῆς πονηρᾶς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ τῆς καθεστηκυίας φρενὸς ἐξέπλευσαν. ηὐφράνθησαν ὅτι μετεκυλίσθησαν, | *E 139* καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡς κάλαμος ὑποκεκυφὼς καὶ ἐμβολαῖς ἀνέμων ὑποκλινόμενος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμεγαλύνθης σφόδρα, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοί σου ἐνεβαθύνθησαν. καὶ προσελάβου καὶ τὰ ἀνέλπιστα, ὑψώσας τὸ κέρας ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιεδίνησας. τοιούτοις σε τοῖς ᾄσμασι πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν Ἰορδάνην καταίροντα παραπέμπομεν. τοῖς εἰσιτηρίοις τοιούτοις σε δεξιούμεθα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἰδοὺ καὶ κοινότερον ἀνακράζομεν τὰς ᾠδὰς τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν τὴν ἐπινίκιον.

562 ὅσα 564 ἡμᾶς 567 νεφέλη O ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὰς om. O 569 συγκαταλεγέσθω O 570 τούτων O 573 τούτοις O 576 ἔνορκοι : ἄνορκοι O 578 συμβούλοις codd 580 αὐτῷ E 564 τοιαύτης codd χειρὸς om. E 591 ἐξεκυλίσθησαν E 593 καὶ ante προσελάβου om. O

NOTES

4. *εἶτα* 'indignantis' is much affected as opening word of a speech or letter by Byzantine rhetoricians of the eleventh and twelfth century. Cf. Michael Psellus *ep.* 40 (Sathas, *M.B.* 5, 273), *Monodia in Georgium Vestiarum* (*Orbis Romanus* 5, 1936, 211), *In mercatorem factum advocatum* (*ibid.* 69), Eustathius *ep.* 50, Michael Akominatos *Paneg. in Isaac Angelum* (Lambros, 1, 208), *In sanctum Leonidem* (*ibid.* 1. 150), Theodore Prodromus *ep.* 2, *ep.* 3, *ep. ad Euthymium* (Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom,* 305). Tzetzes ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 79 (ed. Massa Positano) says of such an example 'περισσῶς 'Αττικῶς κεῖται'.

5. *τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον* : Source is Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 2. 144 ἀετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλιὰς οὐκ ἂν πήξαιντο μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὁ μὲν τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην.

προσεναρμόσεται : Not in lexica.

8. *τὸν πολυτελῆ κτλ.*: cf. LXX *Is.* 28. 16 'Ιδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν λίθον πολυτελῆ, ἔκλεκτον, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς.

10. *εἰ κεφαλὴν γωνίας* : cf. LXX Ps. 118 (117). 22 λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

20. *χερσομανής* : not in lexica : χερσομανῶ is cited from Gregory of Nazianzus. The phrase is probably a reminiscence of LXX *Is.* 41. 19 θήσω εἰς τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν κέδρον καὶ πύξον, μυρσίνην καὶ κυπάρισσον καὶ λεύκην.

26. *καὶ οἱ λίθοι κτλ.* Cf. NT *Luc.* 19. 40 ἐὰν οὗτω σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κράξουσιν (v.l. κεκράξονται).

27. *εἴπερ τινὲς εἶεν κτλ.* The evident contemporary allusion escapes me.

δυσέκτρωτον : not in lexica.

30. *ἐσεῖται* : A Byzantine 'Atticism', cf. G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner,* 13.

32. *εἷς χιλίους κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Deut.* 32. 30 πῶς διώξεται εἷς χιλίους, καὶ δύο μετακινήσουσι μυριάδας ;

37. *οὐρανοκρότητον* : Not in lexica.

40. *δημαγωγίας* : 'generalship'. Cf. Hesych. δημαγωγεῖ· στρατηγεῖ.

κενωμάτων : If the reading is right, the word must be used in some unattested technical military sense. It would be easy, but unwise, to conjecture κινημάτων.

42. *γνωματάρχης* : Not in lexica.

45. *ἐν βουλαῖς παννυχίζων* : For the history of the theme of the nocturnal counsels of the monarch cf. the interesting excursus in B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Iustinians,* I, 1960, 388 - 389. The theme recurs in the present text, e.g. l. 454, 517.

49. *ὁ λόγος μέγας δυνάστης* : Cf. Gorgias, 'Ελένης ἐγκώμιον 8 [Diels - Kranz II, 290, 17 - 18], λόγος δυνάστης μέγας ἐστίν, ὃς σμικροτάτῳ σώματι καὶ ἀφανεστάτῳ θειότατα ἔργα ἀποτελεῖ.

55. *τὰς περιλάμπρους κιγκλίδας κτλ.* This passage seems to indicate that the lecture-room of the ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων was in the Great Palace. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter,* 52, is inclined to suppose that the school in the Church of the Apostles described by Nikolaos Mesarites about 1200 is the scene of activity of the ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων. But it is clearly ■ part of the Patriarchal School. In the eleventh century the ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων

taught, according to various scholars, in a church of St. Peter, ■ church of St. George, or a portico opposite the Senate House (cf. Fuchs, *op. cit.* 28 - 29). None of the arguments is conclusive. In view of the present passage, it may well be that the official lecture-room of the ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων continues to be in the Magnaura, as it had been in the time of Leo the Mathematician (Cf. Genesios p. 98, Theoph. Cont. 4. 26 p. 185).

60. *ἔννας* must be corrupt, though some geographical name parallel to 'Ελικῶνα might be expected. The accentuation of the MSS is against the conjecture εὐνάς, with a possible reference to the chrysotriclinos in the Great Palace.

61, 62. *στρατογραφεῖν, στρατογράφιον* : Not in lexica.

74. *ὑθλολογία* : Not in lexica.

77. *ἡ ὄφις δανειζέτω κτλ.* : On the use of snakes' flesh in ancient materia medica cf. Cossen - Steier, *R.E.* IIA, 506. The image of snake's flesh as an antidote is common in tha writings of Gregorios Palamas; cf. *Défense des Saints hésychastes* (ed. J. Meyendorff) I. 1. 11, I. 1. 20, II. 1. 15, etc. I have not identified the patristri text from which the image is no doubt drawn.

80. *ὀροθέτημα* : Not in lexica.

τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐαγγελίοις σαγήνην : Cf. N.T. *Matth.* 13. 47 ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν σαγήνῃ βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους συναγαγούσῃ.

86. *βρεφοκόμον* : Not in lexica.

87. *δυσδιάφυκτον* : Not in lexica; Suidas has δυσδιάφευκτον· δυσχερῶς λανθάνον, which is quite another meanIng.

89. *τῆς πειθανάγκης τὸ ἔντεχνον* : 'The skill with which one is forced to a conclusion'. πειθανάγκη is glossed and supported by citations in Suidas.

91. *δυεῖν* : On this form in Byzantine texts cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 69.

τοῦ τε is answered by καὶ τοῦ 1. 122.

92. *τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἀόρατα κτλ.* : Cf. N.T. *Rom.* 1. 20 τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται.

106. *τῇ Σταγειρόθεν κελαίνῃ Σφιγγί* : I cannot find any parallel for this curious expression. The point presumably is that Aristotle's utterances require interpretation to be of any use.

110. *περισύρω τὸ χλωρὸν κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Gen.* 30. 37 καὶ περισύρων τὸ χλωρὸν ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὸ λευκόν, ὃ ἐλέπισε, ποικίλον.

114. *ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Gen.* 30. 38 καὶ παρέθηκε τὰς ῥάβδους ἃς ἐλέπισεν ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς τῶν ποτιστηρίων τοῦ ὕδατος.

115. *εἰς Χριστὸν αἰχμαλωτίζων κτλ.* : Cf. N.T. II *Cor.* 10. 5 αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

118. *τὸ πικρὸν οὐ λέγω γλυκὺ κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Is.* 5. 20 οὐαὶ οἱ λέγοντες τὸ πονηρὸν καλόν, καὶ τὸ καλὸν πονηρόν, οἱ τιθέντες τὸ σκότος φῶς καὶ τὸ φῶς σκότος, οἱ τιθέντες τὸ πικρὸν γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ πικρόν.

123. *ἔδωκε σὲ ὑπερασπισμὸν σωτηρίας κτλ.* : Cf. Menander, π. ἐπιδεικτικῶν Spengel. θεὸς κατοικτείρας ἄνωθεν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος καὶ βουληθεὶς ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις παραμυθήσασθαι τὴν σὴν παρήγαγε γένεσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης.

124. *πύργον ἰσχύος κτλ.* : Cf. LXX *Ps.* 60 (61) 4 ὡδήγησάς με, ὅτι ἐγενήθης ἐλπίς μου, πύργος ἰσχύος ἀπὸ προσώπου ἐχθροῦ.

125. *ἦλθες γὰρ μετὰ ἰσχύος κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 40. 10 ἰδοὺ κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ βραχίων μετὰ κυρείας.

128. *ἀπεστάλης ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 10. 12 ἐπισκέψομαι ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς δόξης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. (13) εἶπε γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι ποιήσω, καὶ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τῆς συνέσεως ἀφελῶ ὅρια ἐθνῶν, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτῶν προνομεύσω. Who is this τυφῶν from the west who is compared to the King of Assyria? The most obvious interpretation would be to take it of Roger II of Sicily. The difficulty is that this potentate is said to be still alive (l. 167-170), whereas Roger II died in 1154. His son, King William I of Sicily, in fact inflicted a severe defeat on the Byzantine forces in Italy and drove them from the peninsula in 1156. By the following year his fleet was operating in the Aegean and had even risked approaching Contantinople. In the meantime, however, a small Byzantine force and much Byzantine money had been sent to Ancona, and soon a considerable army was in the field there. A series of minor victories over the Sicilian forces in the autumn of 1157 was crowned by the defeat of a Sicilian army near San Germano on 6 January 1158. This partial succes, which did not change the real relation of forces in Italy, enabled Manuel to conclude a peace treaty with William II without loss of face, and to withdraw his troops from Ancona (on these events cf. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène II: Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 367-381, where the sources are cited. Seen in the distorting mirror of panegyrical rhetoric, this could well be described in the words used in the text. I am therefore inclined to suppose that William I is the τυφῶν from the west; he died on 7 May 1166, which would point to the earlier rather than the later of the suggested dates for the present text.

131. *ἐν τῇ σῇ ῥομφαίᾳ κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 77 (78). 62 συνέκλεισεν εἰς ῥομφαίαν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

135. *ἀπαντήσαι*: Byzantine literary usage favours the 'Aeolic' forms of the aorist optative; cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 77-78.

136. *οὐκ ἠσθένησεν ἡ ψυχή σου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 7. 4 μὴ φοβοῦ, μηδὲ ἡ ψυχή σου ἀσθενείτω ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων τῶν δαλῶν τῶν καπνιζομένων τούτων. The image of the two burning brands is used by Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης in Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum* 174. 15ff. οὐκ ἐπτοήθης ἀπὸ τῶν δύο δαλῶν τῶν καιομένων, ὥς φησιν ὁ εἰπών, apparently with reference to the Serbs and Bosnians in 1149. The identification of the two brands from the west in the present passage is not easy. They may be merely the Hungarians and Serbs who are spoken of later. They may be Roger II and William I, successive Kings of Sicily. They can hardly be the Emperor Conrad and Louis VII of France, in view of the terms in which they are spoken of here.

141. *ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 118 (119). 25 ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχή μου.

144. *Ἰουδαίας κατάρχεις*: Byzantine circles were inclined to interpret the treaty between Baldwin III of Jerusalem and Manuel, and subsequent triumphal entry of the Emperor into Antioch in April 1154 followed by Baldwin, as an acknowledgement of Byzantine suzerainty over the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 427, where the relevant literature is cited.

Αἰθιοπία προφθάνει κτλ.: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 67 (68). 31. ἥξουσι πρέσβεις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ.

ἐκ Δαμᾶ λίβανος: Cf. LXX *Jer.* 6. 20 ἵνα τί μοι λίβανον ἐκ Σαβᾶ φέρετε καὶ κιννάμωμον ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν (v. l. Δαμᾶ).

146. *ὡς φῶς αἱ ὁδοί σου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Prov.* 4. 18 αἱ δὲ ὁδοὶ τῶν δικαίων ὁμοίως φωτὶ λάμπουσι.

καί σοι δουλεύειν καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ κτλ.: The reference in this long passage seems to be to the treaty with Sultan Kilidj Arslan of late 1161, confirmed during his visit to Constantinople in winter 1161-2, in which the Sultan undertook to provide troops to the Byzantine empire. Cf. Kinn. p. 201.

158. *τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Μερόης κτλ.*: Meroe and Syene are merely conventional expressions for the extreme south. But in the 60's of the twelfth century many in Constantinople were dreaming of conquests in Egypt. Cf. Nik. Ak. 208 ἀλλὰ τίνα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἐρᾷ καὶ στρατείας ὑπερορίου, καὶ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνωτιζάμενος πάμφορον, καὶ ὅσα γεωργεῖ Νεῖλος ὁ καρποδότης καὶ εὔσταχυς, τοῖς πήχεσι μετρῶν τὸ εὔδαιμον, κτλ.; K. Horna, Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses, *W. St.* 28 (1906) 178 ἔφριξαν τούτου τὴν σπάθην ὁπόσοι Νειλῷον πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐσχατίας οἰκοῦσι τῆς γῆς.

166. *οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν κτλ.*: The Greek victors at Salamis.

168. *ὁ τῶν στοιχείων καινοτόμος κτλ.*: Xerxes.

173. *αὐτοσώματος*: Not in lexica. The word recurs in l. 388.

134. *ὅτε τὴν κεφαλὴν μαχαίρᾳ κτλ.*: No such mishap to Alexander is recorded in the Greek tradition. He received a sword wound in the thigh at Issus (Arrian *Anab.* 2. 12. 1). All his other wounds were apparently caused by missiles.

185. *ὅτε κατηλοήθη λίθῳ κτλ.*: Cf. Arrian *Anab.* 4. 33 βάλλεται λίθῳ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τήν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα at Cyropolis.

187. *Σέβηροι καὶ Καίσαρες κτλ.*: This hexad does not seem to occur elsewhere.

197. *τί σκιαγραφεῖτε κτλ.*: On this whole passage cf p. 182 ff.

200. *τῷ παντὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον*: Cf. Nikolaos of Methone, *op. cit.* p.77, ἡ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀϊδιότης ἀτελεύτητος μέν, οὐκ ἄναρχος δέ· μόνον γὰρ ἄναρχον τὸ θεῖον, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀρχή· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐν χρόνῳ οὐδ' ἂν ἀϊδιότης εὐλόγως λέγοιτο, μήτε ἄναρχος μήτε ἀτελεύτητος οὖσα, ἢ εἴπερ ἄρα μετὰ διαστίξεώς τῆς, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ὑφεστήκοι.

201. *παρεισφθείροντες*: The active use of the compounds of φθείρω in an imprecatory sense is not recorded in the lexica.

202. *μεταχρονίζοντες*: Not in lexica.

209. *καὶ ὕμνῳ* seems corrupt.

213. *ἀλλοκότοις με ταῖς ῥύμαις κτλ.*: Cf. l. 578 ῥύμαις ἀλλοκότοις κατεβακχεύετο. This is probably a citation, but I have not found the source.

226. *Ἀμφιλύτου καὶ Βακίδος*: Cf. Ael. Arist. 29 (D). 22 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν Βακίδος χρησμῶν οὐδ' Ἀμφιλύτου μαθεῖν δεῖ με.

227. *σώφρων καὶ ἀνδρεῖος κτλ.*: A variation on the theme of the four royal virtues ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, and φρονήσις. Cf. Menander, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν 2 (Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* 3. 373). Significantly μεγαλοπρέπεια has replaced δικαιοσύνη.

234. *Δαίδαλος ἐκεῖνον κτλ.*: Cf. Il. 18. 590ff. ἐν δὲ χόρον ποίκιλλε περίκλυτος ἀμφιγυήεις / τῷ ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ / Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

238. *καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ κτλ.*: Cf. Hes. Op. 220-224. The same image is used by Michael Akominatos in connection with the restoration of the ὑπάτεια τῶν φιλοσόφων (Lampros, 1. 81).

247. *οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἔκλυτός τε κτλ.*: The reference is to Aphrodite's girdle, described in Il. 14. 214 etc., but probably not to any specific passage.

250. *οὐρανοῦ περιόδους κτλ.*: In so far as there is any reference to a particular work of Aristotle, it is to Book I of the *Meteorologica*. According to Bonitz' Index σύμφασις occurs only in *Meteor. I* 342 b 28·

251. *ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη*: Here again the reference is probably to *Meteor. I*, in which the size of the sun is discussed at 345 b 1ff. Apparently Aristotle does not discuss the size of the moon anywhere. τῶν πλανητῶν σύνοδοι are dealt with in 343 b 30 ff.

253. *τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα κτλ.*: Probably *Meteor. I* 345 b ff., where the cause of haloes and the like appearing on heavenly bodies is treated, though the reference could be to Optics 419 a.

254. *τὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν καὶ τὰ καθ' ὕπαρξιν*: The distinction is not an Arlstotelian one. Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary on *Meteor.* p. 131.23 ff, commenting on *Meteor.* II 379 ■ 5, has εἶναι δὲ τινάς φασι, οἳ τὴν ἀστράπην φαντασίαν τινά φασιν εἶναι, οὐχ ὕπαρξιν οὐδὲ πρᾶγμά τι. The distinction ὕπαρξις: φαντασία also occurs in Philoponus' commentary on the *Meteorologica* p. 67. 32 ff, commenting on *Meteor.* I 342 a 34, but it does not seem to occur elsewhere among the published commentaries on Aristotle. This strengthens our supposition that Michael is thinking primarily of the *Meteorologica*.

διαφορὰς καὶ θέσεις πνευμάτων: Cf. *Meteor.* II 363 a 21 - 365 a 13.

ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ τὰς νεφώδεις ἕλκει συστάσεις: Cf. Aristot. *Probl.* 26. 240 a 18 διὰ τί ὁ καικίας μόνος τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄγει τὰ νέφη;

256. *ἀνέλκει τὸν χοῦν κτλ.*: Neither the subject-matter nor the phraseology of this passage seems to be Aristotelian.

266. *δι' ἣν καὶ Πέρσαι Κῦρον κτλ.*: Cf. Herod. 3. 89. 3.

276. *Μέτελλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας οἰκουρῶν*: The reference is probably to Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, cos. 143, died 115, his four sons and two sons-in-law all being at that time consulars. But the immediate source escapes me.

279. *ὁμώνυμος*: According to Aristotle ὁμώνυμα λέγεται ὧν ὄνομα μόνον κοινὸν ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοὔνομα λόγος τῆς οὐσίας ἕτερος (Cat. 1 a 1). Aristotle cites many examples of such words, e.g. κλείς. Presumably some such play upon words is meant here. Perhaps the reference is more particularly to the passages in the zoological works in which organs which are not part of ■ living organism are said to be called by their names ὁμωνύμως, e.g. Περὶ ζώων γενέσεως II b 24 οὐ γάρ ἐστι πρόσωπον μὴ ἔχον ψυχήν, οὐδὲ σάρξ, ἀλλὰ φθαρέντα ὁμονύμως λεχθήσεται τὸ μὲν εἶναι πρόσωπον τὸ δὲ σάρξ, ὥσπερ κἂν ἐγίγνετο λίθινα ἢ ξύλινα.

294. *τῶν Περσῶν*: Probably the campaigns or 1160 and 1161 against the Sultanate of Iconium.

303. *ἀναδύῃ τὸν ἐπιδίφριον θρίαμβον κτλ.*: Cf. p. 178 for discussion of this passage. Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης uses a very similar phrase of Mannel in 1153: σὺ δ' ἐμετριάσας καὶ τὸν ἡμῖν προσδοκώμενον ἀνεβάλου καὶ οὐ κατήγαγες θρίαμβον. (Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum* 150. 13).

309. *τῇ δὲ ὑπέρμαχῳ κτλ.*: Cf. Patriarch Sergius' prelude to the Akathistos Hymnos τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια.

312. *ἀλλάττοιτό σοι κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 40. 31 οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες τὸν θεὸν ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχύν, πτεροφυήσουσιν ὡς ἀετοί.

317. *αἱ ζιβύναι τούτοις κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 2. 4 καὶ συγκόψουσι τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα, καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα.

319. *ἀνάγκης υἱὸς ὁ πόλεμος*: This looks like a quotation, but I have been unable to trace it. In view of Michael's vigorous imagery it may therefore be original and not derivative.

322. *τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ νεαρὰ διατάγματα*: The surviving Novels of Manuel are to be found in Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus Graeco - Romanum* III. Cf. also id., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 36 - 37.

325. *τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ φῶς καὶ λύχνος*: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 118 (119) 105 λύχνος τοῖς ποσίν μου ὁ λόγος σοῦ καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου (v.l. νόμος which Michael evidently had in mind here).

εὑρέθη ὡς ὀρθρὸς κτλ.: Cf. LXX *Hos.* 6. 4 ὡς ὄρθρον ἕτοιμον εὑρήσομεν αὐτόν.

328. *τὸν παράκτιον κολωνόν*: Cf. Nik. Ak. 268. This is probably the Mangana tower, between which and another tower in Chrysopolis the chain mentioned in the next passage was stretched. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 277 - 278.

332. *τὸν ζωστῆρα τῆς ὑγρᾶς*: Not the old chain across the Golden Horn, which had been in existence since 823 if not earlier, but a new chain across the Bosporus from Üsküdar to Mangana. For a description of it cf. Nik. Ak. 268. Its construction was no doubt prompted by the operations of the Norman fleet from Sicily under Roger II and William I.

336. *ὁ ἐπισκευασμὸς τῶν τειχέων*: Cf. Kinn. 274 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε τειχέων τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐπιμεμέλητο μέρεσι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου καμνόντων. There seems to be no mention of the new stretch of wall built by Manuel at the northern end of the land walls, stretching from the Kerkoporta to the neighbourhood of the Tower of Anemas. and probably connecting up with the southern extremity of Heraclius' wall; cf. R. Janin, *op. cit.* 248 - 249, 265 - 266. This construction must therefore be later than the present speech.

337. *ὢ πόσης εὐδαιμονίας κτλ.*: The reference is quite general. Manuel carried out repairs and decorations both in the Great Palace and in the Palace of Blachernae. There seems to be no particular reference to the celebrated series of mosaics in the Blachernae palace depicting his own victories; cf. Nik. Ak. 269; Odo of Deuil, *MPL* 185. 1221 B - C; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler, 13.

342. *τῶν ἔργων τὴν περιφάνειαν κτλ.*: The reference is to Manuel's rebuilding of the Church of St. Irene τοῦ Περάματος, which had recently been destroyed by fire. Cf. Nik. Ak. 269 - 270, R. Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I. 111, *Les églises et les monastères*, 111 - 113.

345. *τῶν ψηφίδων συνθέσεις*: The church was decorated with mosaics.

348. *τῶν ἱερῶν σηκῶν*: What tombs were in the Church of St. Irene? Is this a reference to another work of Manuel's?

351. *τοὺς κουφισμοὺς τῆς ἀχθηδόνος κτλ.*: Two enactments reducing taxation on ecclesiastical property are described. One seems to have been of limited geographical extent, the other to have extended to the whole territory of the empire. It is not easy to identify either enactment with confidence. The first may be the χρυσόβουλλος λόγος of August 1153 restoring all landed property confiscated from St. Sophia and freeing it from tax (*J.G.R.* III 446 - 449), or the χρυσόβουλλος λόγος of March 1158 guaranteeing possession of their existing lands to all monasteries in Constantinople and nearby regions and granting them certain fiscal advantages, but at

the same time forbidding them to extend their holdings (Kinn. 276). The second may possibly refer to the series of enactments of 1144 granting immunity from taxation to δημοσιακοὶ ἱερεῖς—apparently priests enrolled in the cadasters of landed estates—throughout the empire; cf. Balsamon on second synod of Nicaea, ch. 4 (*MPG* 707 - 708). But one would scarcely expect a measure dating back more than twenty years to be given such prominence. I am more inclined to suppose that between 1158 and the date of the speech the provision regarding security of tenure of monastic estates and their partial immunity was extended to cover the whole empire. There appears to be no other trace of such an enactment. Manuel's generosity to the church, whatever its actuel form, was long remembered: cf. anonymous chronicle in cod. Oxon. Laud. gr. 27 fol. 129v Μανουὴλ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πορφυρογέννητος χρόνους λβ', ὀρθόδοξος, ταξειδάριος· ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐχαρίσατο τὴν ἀτέλειαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν Ῥωμανίας.

360. *τῇ σῇ παρόδῳ κτλ.*: I do not know what this means.

363. *μιᾷ πληγῇ τρεῖς κελλητίζοντας ἐξεσφαίρισε*: Many such stories were told of Manuel. Cf. F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* 207.

364. *κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας*: Cf. Thuc. 1. 5.

366. *Πλειὰς δύνουσα καὶ ἐπιτέλλων Ὠρίων*; Cf. Hesiod *Op.* 619ff. The acronychal setting of the Pleiads occurs in November.

377. *Κιλίκων*: The reference is presumably to the campaign of 1158 against the Cilician Armenian Kingdom of Thoros.

378. *τῶν παριστρίων πειράτων*: Probably a reference to the campaign against the Cumans of 1148.

τὰ Παννονίων εἴτουν Γηπαίδων: On the names given to the Hungarians of J. Darkó, Die auf die Ungarn bezügliche Volksnamen bei den Byzantinern, *BZ.* 21 (1912) 472 - 487; Gy. Moravcsik, Die archaisierenden Namen der Ungarn in Byzanz, *B.Z.* 30 (1929/30) 247 - 253. All four terms here refer to the Hungarians.

384. *Δακῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους κτλ.*: The reference might be to any occasion when Manuel personally took the field against the Serbians. It cannot be to the single combat between Manuel and the Serbian (or Hungarian) Župan Bakchinos in 1150 (Cf. Nik. Ak. 127, Kinn. 111 - 112, I. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* 1941, 23 - 24), since the emperor here fights παμπληθεῖ τῷ. στρατοπέδῳ.

388. *χανεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν*: Cf. Il. 4. 182 τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών.

394. *ἡ πάρδαλις τὸ ζῷον κτλ.*: This passage seems to bear little similarity to any description of a leopard in earlier literature, and is original in general form though derivative in detail. The leopard is still indigenous in Asia Minor, where the hunt must have taken place. In the literature of Byzantium and the Near East the leopard is more often a hunting animal than ■ quarry. Cf. Digenis Akritas, ed. Mavrogordato, 3565 οὐκ εἶχε κύνας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἢ πάρδους πολυδρόμος. Luxorius, A.L. 1. 360, De pardis mansuetis, qui cum canibus venationem faciebant', Other examples from mediaeval literature are cited by J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, 389 n. 2. The animal referred to in these passages is no doubt rather the cheetah than the leopard.

395. *φρίττει τὴν λοφίαν*: Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 822 φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιᾶς λασιαύχενα χαίταν.

396. *ἐπισυνάγει κτλ.*: Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 823 δεινὸν ἐπισκύνιον ξυνάγων.

400. *στέρνον καὶ γαστέρα κτλ.*: Cf. Agathias, *A.P.* 7.578 τὸν λασιοστέρνων κέντορα παρδαλίων.

411. *τὴν πληγὴν καιρίαν*: Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1292, 1343.

421. *ὁ τῆς παροιμίας Σκύθης*: Cf. Leutsch - Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I, 452. 4ff. Σκύθης τὸν ὄνον: ἐπὶ τῶν λόγῳ μὲν ἀκκιζομένον, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐφιεμένων. Ἰδὼν γάρ τις νεκρὸν ὄνον„ ἔφη ⟨πρὸς Σκύθην παρόντα⟩ Δεῖπνόν τοι, ὦ Σκύθα. Ὁ δὲ ἐβδελύξατο πρῶτον· αὖθις δὲ πολυπραγμονήσας περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπονεῖτο.

422. *ὁ λίθος αὖθις ἀδίαντος*: Cf. Leutsch - Schneidewin, *op. cit.* I, 430. 1ff. Λίθον ἕψεις: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδύνατόν τι κατεργάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρούντων Cf. *ibid.* II 185. 11, 505. 4ff.

424. *τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων δεσμοὺς κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Sirac.* 12. 12 μὴ δεσμεύσῃς δὶς ἁμαρτίαν, ἐν γὰρ μιᾷ ἀθωωθήσῃ, added in certain manuscripts.

426. *εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is.* 10. 12 εἶπε γάρ, ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι ποιήσω.

428. *τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 10 (11) εὐθύτητα εἶδε τὸ πρόπρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν κτλ.: Cf. LXX *Is.* 28. 2 ἰσχυρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου.

429. *ῥήματα ἀνδρὸς ἀληθίνου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Job* 6. 25 ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικε φαῦλα ἀληθίνου ῥήματα.

433. *μετενεδύετο τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν*: Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 7 ὅπου γὰρ ἡ λεοντῆ μὴ ἐφικνεῖται, προσραπτέον ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν. On the theme of Hungarian untrustworthiness cf. passages cited by M. Gyni, *Magyarország és a Magyarság a bizánci források tükrében*, 42 - 43.

434. *πῦρ ὑπὸ σποδιᾷ κτλ.*; Cf. Callim. *ep.* 44. 1 - 2 ἔστι τι ταύτῃ ναὶ μὰ Διώνυσον πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδίῃ.

438. *συνέλαβεν ἀνομίαν κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ps.* 7. 14 ἰδοὺ ὠδίνησεν ἀδικίαν, συνέλαβε πόνον, καὶ ἔτεκεν ἀνομίαν.

439. *ἀποταυρούμενος*: Cf. Eur. *Med.* 187 - 8 τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης ἀποταυροῦται δμωσίν, and explanations of Scholiast.

440. *Δάκα*: For Δὰξ = Serbian cf. Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum* 142 - 3, 163.

441. *Βουμελλίων*: A variant of the name Βουλιμεῖς (Ptol. *Geog.* 2. 16, Dionys. Per. 387, Eustath. ad loc), Βουλινοὶ (Ps. - Scymn. 404, Scylax 22, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βουλινοί), etc. Cf. Tomaschek, *R.E.* 3. 1046. 23 - 53. The form is no doubt a learned etymologising construction; βουμελία=ash-tree, and the third race of men according to Hesiod *Op.* 145 sprang ἐκ μελιᾶν. The people lived in antiquity along the southern part of the Dalmatian coast, in the twelfth century part of the Serbian principality of Dioclea.

447. *κρημνοῖς ἀμφιρρόποις*: The sams phrase occurs in Malchus p. 415 Dindorf, but there is probably no connection.

452. *ἄρτι* with future or future equivalent is common κοινὴ but condemned by the Atticists, e.g. Phrynichus.

558. *φρενὸς εὐρίπῳ*: Cf. Eustath., *Opusc.*, ed. Tafel, p. 217. 4 βίου εὔριπος.

462. *Σίρμιον*: Clearly the region of Srem, and not, as sometimes, the town of Mitrovica or even Zemun.

463. *ἐν φυλέταις ἀλλογλώσσοις κτλ.*: The Hungarian ethnic element seems to have been negligible south of the Drava, though Hungarian sovereignty extended to the Sava in the first half of the twelfth century.

464. *ἐπιγραφαῖς*: ἀπογραφὴ is the commoner word for 'tax-assessment', 'tax-roll', but ἐπιγραφὴ occurs in this sense; cf. L.-S.[9] s.v. But. we really need an adjective or adjectival phrase, which neither ἐπιγραφαῖς nor ἀπογραφαῖς can be. Perhaps we should read ἐπιγράφοις, assuming a sense of 'entered in tax-roll'.

γεωγραφούμενα: 'surveyed for taxation purposes'. Cf. Ioannes Diogenes ap. Regel; *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum* 311. 4 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτω τὸν Ἴστρον περαιωθεὶς πᾶσαν ἐκείνῳ τὴν χώραν ἐγεωγράφησας.

468. *ἡ ὑλικὴ δυὰς*: Cf. Cyrilli lexicon, ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Parisiensia* III, 1841, 200.33 ὑλικὴν δυάδα ὁ Θεόλογος ἐκάλεσε τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. I have not traced the passage in Gregory of Nazianzus.

470. *λέων μετὰ ξίφους*: Cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *C.P.G.* I. 429. 11 λέων ξίφος ἔχων: ἐπὶ τῶν φύσει μὲν ἀνδρείων, ἑτέραν δὲ προσλαμβανόντων ἔξωθεν βοήθειαν.

471. *λασιοκώφω*: v.l. of Clarkianus in Plato, *Phaedr*. 253e, and in Synesios' citation of the passage; cited as a lemma by Hesychius, Photios, and Suidas.

473. *μετὰ ἰσχύος κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is*. 40. 10 κύριος μετὰ ἰσχύος ἔρχεται καὶ ὁ βραχίων μετὰ κυρείας.

474. *ἐρχομένου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Is*. 66. 18 κἀγὼ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπίσταμαι· ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλώσσας.

477. *εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρου*: Cf. N. T. *Ep. Petr*. 2. 22 ὗς λουσαμένη εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου (v.l. κύλισμα).

478. *ἐμολύνθη κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Sirac*. 13. 1 ὁ ἁπτόμενος πίσσης μολυνθήσεται.

ἄνθρακος γυμνῷ ποδὶ κτλ.: Cf. LXX *Prov*. 6. 28 περιπατήσει τις ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρός, τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐ κατακαύσει;

481. *ἀνετασμὸς*: Not in lexica.

483. *πνεῦμα γάρ φησι*: Cf. LXX *Baruch* 3. 1 ψυχὴ ἐν στενοῖς καὶ πνεῦμα ἀκηδιῶν κέκραγεν πρὸς σέ. The variant στερνοῖς is not recorded in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

485. *συνάχθητι κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Soph* 2. 1 συνάχθητε καὶ συνδέθητε τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον.

488. *ἀνομία γὰρ ἀνόμου κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ezech*. 33. 12 ἀνομία ἀσεβοῦς οὐ μὴ κακώσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα ἀποστρέψῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας αὐτοῦ.

491. *οὐδὲ ταύτην συνέσχεν ὁ πίθος*: Cf. Hesiod. Op. 96.

492. *εἰς μοῖραν ἀντιμάχου κτλ.*: Cf. Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης ap. Regel, *Pontes Rerum Byzantinarum* 144. 6 τὴν συναιχμίαν τοῖν ἔθνοῖν τούτοιν εἰς ἀνταιχμίαν ἐκαινοτόμησας.

493. *ἀκρωρείαις κινδύνου*; I have not found another example of this figurative use of ακρώρεια.

494. *ἐν συνοχῇ καρδίας*: Cf. N. T. *II Cor*. 2. 4.

496. *τὸν δοθέντα ὑπεδέξατο ἀρχηγόν*: Cf. p. 179.

501. *τὰ προαύλια κτλ.*: These are presumably open spaces and parade grounds in the camp. But προαύλιον in Byzantine Greek usually means the forecourt or vestibule of a church.

502. *ἀνέῤῥιττε τὸ ῥεῦμα κτλ.*: For the same image, albeit used somewhat differently, cf. poem (of Theodore Prodromos ?) edited by I. Rácz, *Bizánci költemények Mánuel császár magyar hadjáratairól* (Magyar-görög tanulmányok 16) 1941, 25 - 42, ll. 149 - 150 καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω μὴ φέρων τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῶν φοβερῶν ἰχνῶν σου.

508. *σχοινίσματα*: 'measures of land', i.e. the tents occupied a large area. But the expression is clumsy, and the text may be corrupt.

511. *ὡς διακοπῇ φραγμοῦ*: The simile of the bursting dyke or dam seems original.

515. *ἐξεδυσάμην κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Cant*. 5. 3 ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν;

ἐνεπίμπρα κτλ.: The imagery is very confused here. αὐτὸν presumably refers to the King of Hungary and not to his χιτῶν. What the 'purple gate' (κλισιάς=κλεισιάς) is I am not at all clear, except that it is some attribute of the emperor.

532. *οἰκίδιον*: Apparently 'domestic establishment, household', for which I cannot find another example. But οἰκίδιος=οἰκεῖος is well attested.

536. *ἀπετασθεῖσαν*: ἀπετάζω not in lexica.

538. *ὡμηρεύετο κτλ.*: The sentence is very awkward. I take it to mean: 'The truce was guaranteed in particular by the King of Bohemia and other potentates offered as sureties for himself by the King of Hungary; they risked their kingdoms and indeed their lives if he countervened the terms of agreement on which the emperor had deigned to receive him'.

539. *τῷ τῆς Βοεμίας ἀρχηγῷ*: Cf. p. 176.

540. *Παιονάρχης*: On the titles given to the ruler of Hungary in Byzantine sources of M. Gyóni, *op. cit.* 62 - 64, F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro - Orientalis*, 8 (1944) 328, n. 31.

544. *οἱ τῆς Παιονίας ἄρχοντες*: Does this refer to Stephen III and his heir apparent, the Byzantine protégé Béla - Alexios ? Or to the Hungarian notables in general ? Byzantine diplomatic relations with Hungary sometimes involved direct dealings with the notables over the head of the King. Cf. Nik. Ak. 166.

545. *εἰς οἰκοδομῶν κτλ.*: Cf. LXX, *Sirac*. 34. 23 εἷς οἰκοδομῶν καὶ εἷς καθαιρῶν.

550. *κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Jer*. 14. 10 ἠγάπησαν κινεῖν τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

552. *οὐ βαθύχειλοι κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Ezech*. 3. 5 οὐ πρὸς λαὸν βαθύχειλον καὶ βαρύγλωσσον σὺ ἐξαποστέλλῃ πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. (6) οὐδὲ πρὸς λαοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλοφώνους ἢ ἀλλογλώσσους, οὐδὲ στιβαροὺς τῇ γλώσσῃ ὄντας (V.l. βαθύγλωσσον).

553. *ὡσεὶ καπνὸς κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Sap*. 5. 12 ὡς καπνὸς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου διεχύθη. 5. 23 ὡς λαῖλαψ ἐκλικμήσει αὐτούς.

554. *ὡς χωνευτήριον πῦρ κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Mal*. 3. 2 εἰσπορεύεται ὡς πῦρ χωνευτηρίου καὶ ὡς πόα πλυνόντων. *Sap*. 3. 6 ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτούς.

558. *ἄστρα μὲν δὴ προβέβηκε κτλ.*: Cf. Il. 10. 252 - 3.

ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῴχηκεν δὲ πλέων νὺξ
τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται.

561. *τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Δαρδάνων*: To distinguish them from those of Mysia in Asia. On Δαρδανία, corresponding approximately to Yugoslav Macedonia, cf. Ptol. *Geog*. 3. 9. 6. The ἐπαρχία Δαρδανίας is recorded in Hierocles *Synecd*. 655 with three cities. Σκουμπομητρόπολις, Μηρίων and Οὐλπιάνα. This information is repeated in Const. Porph. *De Them*. 56.

565. *πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος κτλ.*: Cf. LXX *Eccl*. 10. 4 ἐὰν πνεῦμα ἐξουσιάζοντος ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ σέ, τόπον σου μὴ ἀφῇς, ὅτι ἴαμα καταπαύσει ἁμαρτίας μεγάλας.

567. *ἀπάλειψον ὡς νεφέλην*: Cf. LXX *Is*. 44. 22 ἀπήλειψα ὡς νεφέλην τὰς ἀνομίας σου, καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν σου.

568. *ὁ Βοσναῖος*: Bosnia appears as a Hungarian dependency in the titulature

of the King of Hungary in 1103 (Fejer, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungaricus* II, 39), 1135 (*ibid.* 82) and 1138 (*ibid.* 109). In 1137 King Béla appoints his son László Duke of Bosnia (*ibid.* 88). In 1155 and 1163 Boritz, Ban of Bosnia, appears as a Hungarian vassal (Kinn. 131, Fejer, *op. cit.* II, 166). The river Drina formed the boundary between Bosnia and Serbia (Kinn. 104).

569. *ὁ ταινιοῦχος τῆς Παιονίας ναός* : The Metropolitan Church of Esztergom (Gran), in which was kept the Holy Crown of Hungary.

571. *τῇ σῇ συνέχοιτο κραταιότητι* : On the implications of the gift of a crown by the Byzantine emperor to a foreign monarch cf. F. Dölger, Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik, *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 8 (1942) 329 - 332. On the political significance of the Hungarian crown in the Middle Ages of P. S. Kelleher, *The Holy Crown of Hungary*, 1951, 19 - 31.

572. *ἀνατιτλούσθωσαν* : Not in lexica. τιτλόω is used by Malalas 245. 11='confiscate',

573. *δασμοφορείτω τὸ πᾶν* : Manuel's policy towards Hungary as early as 1161 was directed partly towards the extraction of tribute. Cf. Nik. Ak. 166 ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς...κατὰ νοῦν ἀναπολήσας ὡς...σχοίη ἂν τὰ πρῶτα κλέος αὐτός, ἔπειτα ἡ βαβασιλεία Ῥωμαίων μέρος ἴσως ἐκεῖθεν δασμοῦ. The whole passage in interesting in the light of subsequent events.

581. *τοῖς ἕνδεκα . . . ἀρχηγοῖς* : Apparently eleven Hungarian notables surrendered as hostages. The syntax of this passage is confused, and the text may be corrupt. is ἀρχηγοῖς...ἐκδεδωκόσι a second instrumental dative parallel to σφραγίσιν ἀδιαπτώτοις, or is it a dative absolute, a not infrequent construction in Byzantine Greek (cf. G. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 123).

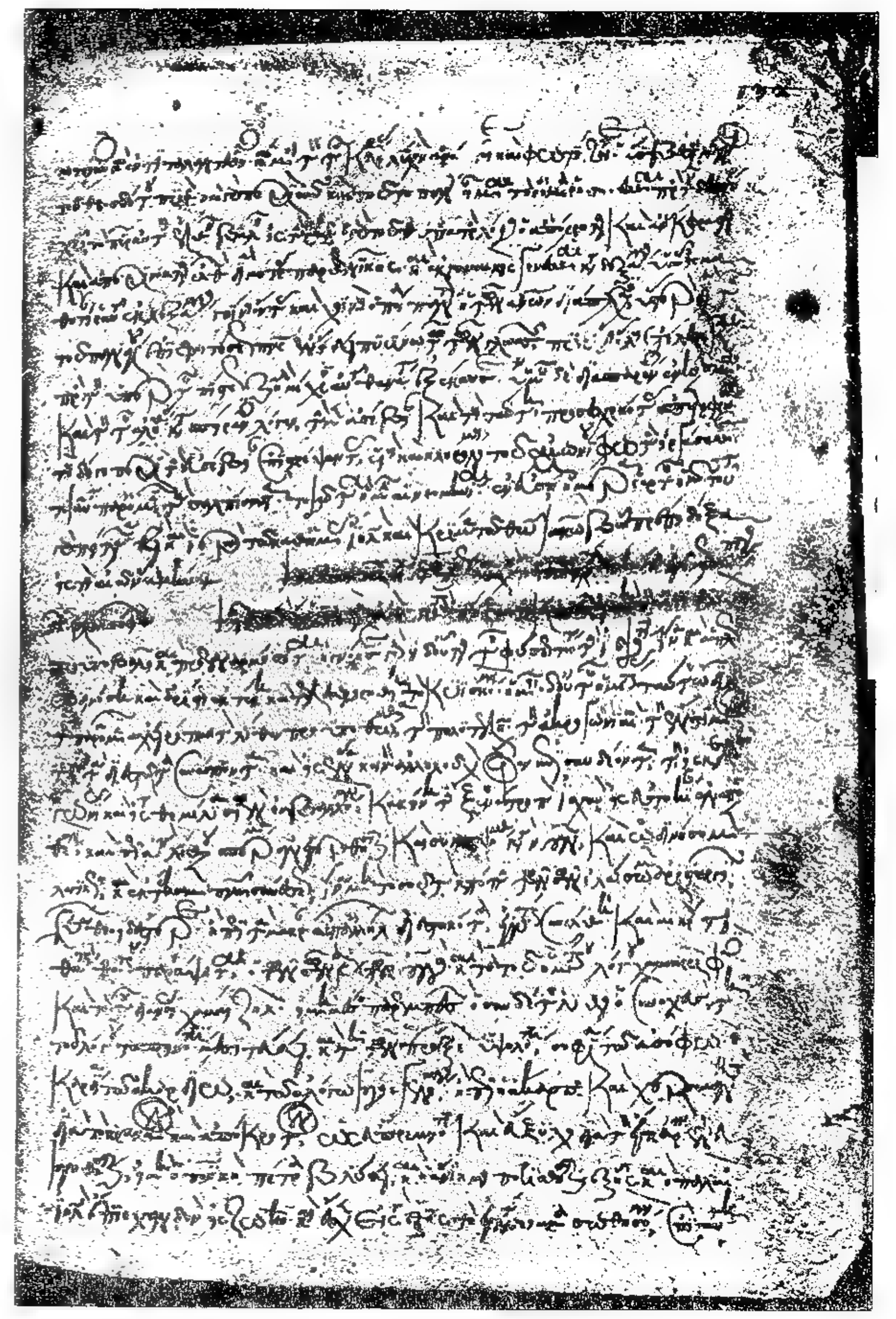
583. *ἀνεκμόχλευτον* : Not in lexica

590. *φρενὸς ἐξέπλευσαν* : Cf. Herod. frg. 3. 155, Suidas s.v. ἐκπλεύσαντες= Aelian frg. 240.

291. *ὡς κάλαμος ὑποκεκυφώς* : Cf. LXX *II Mac.* 2. 21. κραδάνας αὐτὸν ὡς κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου.

593. *οἱ διαλογισμοί σου ἐνεβαθύνθησαν* : Cf. LXX *Ps.* 91 (92), 5 σφόδρα ἐβαθύνθησαν οἱ διαλογισμοί σου. The variant ἐνεβαθύνθυσαν is introduced, no doubt unconsciously, in order to ensure an even number of syllables between the last two accented syllables of the sentence. Michael observes this Byzantine practice with great strictness.

595. *πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν Ἰορδάνην καταίροντα* : Cf. p. 177 - 178.



Codex Escorialensis Y - II - 10 fol. 132 (l. 1 - 24).

Codex Baroccianus Gr. 137, fol. 186v [l. 1-72]

BYZANTINE AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

V

AN UNNOTICED FRAGMENT OF SAPPHO?

THE Bodleian manuscript Barocci 131 is a rhetorical miscellany written early in the fourteenth century and consisting in the main of twelfth-century texts. A great many of these are unique; some of the unique texts have been edited from this manuscript, while others remain unpublished. Among the latter is an anonymous panegyric on the Patriarch Michael II Oxites and the Emperor Manuel I (fols. 224–227^v), entitled: *Τοῦ ἀνωνύμου λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κύριον Μιχαὴλ τὸν πρώην ἡγούμενον τῆς Ὀξείας*, beginning: *Γάμος ἐστὶ μὲν σωματικός· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε τὸν πνευματικὸν ἑορτάζομεν*, and ending: *τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ κυβερνώμενος*. As the panegyric celebrates the consecration of Michael II and the very recent accession of Manuel I, it can be dated to July 1143 or shortly thereafter (cf. V. Grumel, *R.E.B.* i [1943] 253–5). It is an insignificant work, of no literary merit and furnishing virtually no information not known from other sources. We cannot even guess at its authorship.[2]

On fol. 224, where the panegyrist is developing the parallel between the spiritual marriage of a bishop to his church and a secular marriage, occurs the following passage: . . . *ἐπιθαλάμιον ᾄδομεν, οὐχ οἷον Ἀπόλλων ἤχησεν ἐν γάμοις τῆς Ἀριάδνης, οὐχ οἷον αἱ Μοῦσαί ποτε ἀνεκρούσαντο Πηλεῖ συνερχομένῳ τῇ Θετίδι* (*τῆς Θετίδος* cod.), *οὐδ' οἷον ᾄδει Σαπφὼ ἡ ποιήτρια μαλακοῖς τισι ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέλεσιν ἐκλελυμένοις τὰς ᾠδὰς διαπλέκουσα* (*διαπλέκουσι* cod.), *καὶ ἵπποις ἀθλοφόροις ἀπεικάζουσα τοὺς νυμφίους, ῥόδων δ' ἀβρότητι παραβάλλουσα τὰς νυμφευομένους παρθένους, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα πηκτίδος ἐμμελέστερον ποιοῦσα.*

There is no trace of this simile among the recognized fragments of Sappho's epithalamia. It is not on that account to be rejected. The comparison of young men to an *ἀθλοφόρος ἵππος* is traditional (cf. *Il.* xxii. 22, 162), and that of a young girl to a rose obvious. *Ἀβρότης* is not attested in Sappho, but it may be a prose paraphrase of *ἀβροσύνη*, which Sappho does use (fr. 58. 25 Lobel–Page), while *ἄβρος* is one of her favourite words (six examples in Page's index). The phrase *ῥόδων ἀβροτέρα* attributed to Sappho by Gregory of Corinth in his commentary on Hermogenes' *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* (Walz, *Rh. Gr.* vii. 1236. 14) may well be a reminiscence of the same passage. Such comparisons of bride and bridegroom to natural objects were in place in an epithalamium; cf. Sappho fr. 105, 115 Lobel–Page. The concluding phrase *καὶ τὸ φθέγμα πηκτίδος ἐμμελέστερον ποιοῦσα* is an echo of fr. 156 Lobel–Page. Gregory of Corinth, loc. cit., cites *πηκτίδων ἐμμελεστέρα* as Sapphic.

Our panegyrist will have got his citation not from an anthology, still less from a text of Sappho, but from a rhetorical handbook. The lyric poets were recommended by teachers of rhetoric in late antiquity for the models of praise and blame which they furnished; cf. Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 4 (Spengel,

[1] I am very grateful to Professor Daube, who saw an early draft of this note and made valuable suggestions.

[2] Michael Italicus cannot be ruled out. He probably owed his appointment as Metropolitan of Philippopolis to Michael II, and would therefore still be in Constantinople at this time.

Rh. Gr. iii. 393. 5) *ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ σε μνήμην καὶ ποιητῶν ἐπισήμων Ὁμήρου, Ἡσιόδου, τῶν λυρικῶν. αὐτοί τε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἄξιοι μνήμης, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνεκωμίασαν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔλεγξαν,*[1] *παρ' ὧν δυνήσῃ λαβεῖν παραδείγματα.* The same Menander particularly recommends Sappho as a model for epithalamia; cf. *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 6 (Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* iii. 402. 17) *πολλὴ δὲ ἱστορία τοιαύτη παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσι, παρ' ὧν καὶ λήψῃ τὴν χορηγίαν, ἐπιφωνήσεις δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς ἐρωτικῶν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου.* Syrianus, the fifth-century Neoplatonist, in his commentary on the *Περὶ ἰδεῶν* of Hermogenes (ed. Rabe i. p. 15) cites two passages of Sappho verbatim. Gregory of Corinth, in his rich commentary on Hermogenes' *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*,[2] cites several passages in prose paraphrase, one of which Hermann and other nineteenth-century scholars attempted to restore (fr. 201 Page–Lobel; for suggested restorations cf. Bergk, *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 133). These instances of the use of Sappho by rhetoricians could easily be multiplied.

[1] I would hazard the conjecture *ἔψεξαν*.

[2] If Maas's dating of Gregory in the tenth or eleventh century (*Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* ii [1921], 53–55) is accepted, then the fuller version of the commentary, printed by Walz in *Rh. Gr.* vii, cannot be by him, as it contains several references to John Tzetzes. There is room for further work on the commentaries on the *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, which are particularly rich in quotations. Cf. H. Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften', *Rh. M.* lxiii (1912), 127–51.

[3] I must thank Professor Eduard Fraenkel for a most helpful discussion of this passage, and Professor A. J. Beattie for reading this article and suggesting some improvements. Neither has given it his *imprimatur*.

[4] *εἶναι* of course would not scan; but if Parmenides had wanted it he could easily have recast the line.

VI

UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MICHAEL ITALICUS, ARCHBISHOP OF PHILIPPOPOLIS, AND THEODORE PRODROMOS

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, long service in the higher ranks of the Patriarchal staff was often rewarded by appointment as an archbishop or metropolitan in the provinces of the Byzantine empire. In particular we frequently find the teachers of the Patriarchal school, the *διδάσκαλοι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ ἀποστόλου* and *τοῦ ψαλτηρίου*, and the *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* so promoted. Examples which spring to the mind are those of Nicetas, Metropolitan of Heraclea and Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, at the end of the 11th century, Eustratius, Metropolitan of Nicaea at the beginning of the 12th, and Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica at the end of the 12th. But there were many others; the following list of twelfth-century examples makes no claim to exhaustiveness:

Michael Italicus, Archbishop of Philippopolis c. 1147;

John Castamonites, Metropolitan of Chalkedon at the end of the twelfth century;

Basil Pediadites, Metropolitan of Corcyra in late twelfth and early thirteenth century;

Constantine Stilbes, Archbishop of Cyzicus c. 1200.

For these ageing professors, whose entire lives had been spent in the study and teaching of rhetoric, philosophy and theology and in the narrow but intense cultural life of the capital, transference to the provinces, even when eased by the rich revenues of an archbishopric, was sometimes a traumatic experience.

Their surviving correspondence is full of complaints of the barbarism of their new surroundings and of longing to see once again their old friends in the capital which none of them would ever visit again unless a church council was held. Michael Choniates' *βεβαρβάρωμαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἀθήναις* (S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* II. 44) can be paralleled in the writing of Theophylact of Bulgaria, Basil Pediadites and others. If the region of their archdiocese had a predominantly non-Greek population, their sense of isolation from their fellow men was likely to be all the greater. Yet when allowances are made for their negative attitude — an attitude in part imposed upon them by the conventions of friendship in the middle ages — they sometimes provide us with valuable information on those provincial areas of the Byzantine empire so often neglected by contemporary historians and chroniclers, whose attention never strays far from the Great Palace and the Great Church.

The present paper is devoted to the publication of two minor texts of the type under discussion, a letter of Michael Italicus, Archbishop of Philip-

popolis to his friend and former pupil Theodore Prodromus in Constantinople, and a letter of Prodromus to Italicus (not the answer to the former letter; though copied together the letters do not form a pair). The fundamental account of Michael Italicus is still that of M. Treu, B. Z. 4 (1895) 1—22. Further literature is listed in Gy. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I² 1958, 432. He held a succession of appointments as a teacher in the Patriarchal school at Constantinople, ending his career there as διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Some time before 1147, and probably in the Patriarchate of Michael II Oxites (1143—1146) he was appointed to the Archbishopric of Philippopolis, where in 1147 he succeeded by his diplomatic skill in saving the city from the depredations of the Crusaders under King Conrad (Nicetas Choniates ed., Bonn, p. 83). By 1166 he was no longer archbishop, and was presumably dead. He was a man of wide learning, embracing not only rhetoric, philosophy and theology, but also astronomy and medicine. Indeed early in his career he was for a time on officially appointed teacher of medicine — διδάσκαλος τῶν ἰατρῶν-, an appointment which he owed to the patronage of the dowager empress Irene Ducas, widow of Alexius I (cf. letter to Irene Ducas in cod. Oxon. Barocci, 131 fol., 229ᵛ—230ᵛ).

Since the list of Michael Italicus' surviving works given by Kurtz, loc. cit., is far from complete, I append a catalogue of them, divided into two categories: A, those of certain attribution, and B, those of doubtful attribution.

A

29 letters and other short pieces, ed. J. A. Cramer, Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia III, 1836, 158—203. A lacuna in ep. 11, as published by Cramer, is filled by Cod. Bononiensis Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol. 73ʳ—76.

Letter to Theodore Prodromus from Philippopolis, ed. S. D. Papadimitriu Feodor Prodrom. Istoriko-literaturnoe izslédovanie, Odessa 1905, 321—324.

Address to Emperor John II, cod. Bononiensis Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol., 82—92, 61—62. Cf. P. Lamma, La spedizione di Giovanni Comneno in Cilicia ed in Siria in un panegirico di Michele Italico, Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna, Classe di Scienze Morali V, 4 (1952), who publishes excerpts.

Address to Manuel I, cod. Bononiensis Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol. 62ʳ—73ʳ. Cf. P. Lamma, Manuele Comneno nel panegirico di Michele Italico (codice 2412 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna), S. B. N. 7 (1953) 397—408, who publishes excerpts.

Inaugural lecture as διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, cod. Bononiensis, Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol., 77—82, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 232ʳ—233ʳ. I hope to edit this text soon, along with other inaugural lectures delivered at the Patriarchal school in the twelfth century.

Ἠθοποιία, ποίους ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ἅγιος Στέφανος ὁ πρωτόμαρτυς παρὰ τοῦ νεωκόρου τοῖς Βενετικοῖς πωλούμενος, cod. Escorialensis Y-II-10 fol. 242.

Letter to Empress Irene Ducas, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 229ᵛ—230ʳ

Letter to Prodromus here published.

B

Letter on the death of Constantine Hagiotheodorites the jurist, ed. Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca XII, 1724, 483 ff. (a very incorrect text)..

Prologue to the will of Anna Comnena, ed. E. Kurtz, B. Z. 16 (1901) 88 ff

Monody on a dead partridge, ed. K. Horna, Einige unedierte Stücke des Manasses und Italikos, Vienna, 1902.

Address to Patriarch Michael II Oxites in praise of Manuel I, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 224—227ʳ.

Monody on Sebastocrator Andronicus, son of Alexius I, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 228ʳ—229ʳ.

Monody on Michael Pantechnes, Court physician to Alexius I, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 231ᵛ—232.

Monody on Sebastocrator Andronicus, son of John I, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 233ʳ—234ʳ.

Letter to Theodore Prodromus on the geography of the Near East, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 230ʳ.

There is little doubt that further research would both reveal other works of Michael Italicus and enable the status of some of the texts listed under B to be determined.

The two texts here edited are preserved in cod. Oxon. Barocci 131, a manuscript frequently mentioned above. (For a description of this important Byzantine miscellany of H. O. Coxe, Catalogi codicum MSS Bibliothecae Bodleianae I, 211—230; further literature is listed by S. Weinstock, Catalogi codicum astrologicorum graecorum IX. i; to which should be added a reference to A. Dain, La 'Tactique' de Nicéphore Ouranos, 1937,...). They appear in full on fol. 175ʳ—176ʳ; and the first half of the letter of Italicus to Prodromus also appears on fol. 69ʳ, breaking off in the middle of a sentence; why the copyist failed to complete it is not clear. Though many of Italicus' letters from the period before he went to Philippopolis survive, there are only two known to have been written from there. One, that published by Papadimitriu (see above), is a jocular disquisition on the relative merits of cheese and bacon as a gift to be sent to a friend in Constantinople, developed with a great display of philosophical erudition. The present letter is for the most part in the same vein, consisting of a reductio ad absurdum of the Byzantine theory of friendship. Byzantine letters are often singularly devoid of content, the real message being delivered verbally by the bearer. Gustav Karlsson in his recent book Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine, Uppsala, 1959, 14—33 makes some interesting observations on this 'déconcrétisation de la lettre' as he calls it. Nevertheless some interesting facts do emerge from the present letter and that of Prodromus to Italicus which accompanies it (the second is not the answer to the first, and probably precedes it chronologically). We hear of Italicus' despondency, so far from the capital in which his life had been spent, of his interest in the Bulgarian scene, which he apparently described in a lost letter to Prodromus, of the game in which the country was so rich, and the fleece cloaks made there, and of the problem presented to Italicus by the powerful Bogomil and Paulician groups, which had influenced even members of his own Greek clergy.

Perhaps his despondency and sense of isolation were conventionally exaggerated. When the Crusaders arrived in 1147 he seems to have been in full command of the situation and able to negotiate confidently in the name of the citizens. He was a man of independent character — in his letter to Irene Dukas (see above) he tells her frankly that he cares nothing for his imperial appointment as *διδάσκαλος τῶν ἰατρῶν* since his knowlege already makes him the teacher of all the doctors of Constantinople; *πῶς οὖν χειροτονεῖς τὸν κεχειροτονημένον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης*; and he is often jocularly sceptical of much in Byzantine culture. It would be interesting to know whether he found kindred spirits in Bulgaria. If he was a student of medicine in early years of the twelfth century, he is likely to have known the Bogomil leader Basil, himself a distinguished teacher of medicine and probably a Hellenised Bulgarian. (On Basil, V a s i l i j v r a č in the Synodikon of Tsar Boril, cf. D. Obolensky, T h e B o g o m i l s, Cambridge, 1948, 199—205 and passim; D. Angelov, B o g o m i l s t v o t o v B ǔ l g a r i j a, 1947, 118—128 and passim; Ts. Kristanov and I. Dujčev, E s t e s t v o z n a n i e t o v s r e d n o v e k o v n a B ǔ l g a r i j a, 1954, 39—40; V. N. Zlatarski, I s t o r i j a n a B ǔ l g a s k a t a d ǔ r ž a v a p r e z s r e d n i t e v e k o v e, II, 1934, 356—365). And he may well have found in Philippopolis a certain conflict between his scientific interests and his archiepiscopal duties.

Summary

1. Italicus to Prodromus

Our close friendship makes us really one and the same person, and all the experiences of one of us are shared by the other. Those familiar with philosophy will understand this mystic union, although it does not fall under any of the usual categories of logic. Astronomy, too, furnishes parallels. So there is really no point in my writing to you or in your expecting gifts of food or sheepskin cloaks from me. If we speak of ourselves in the plural, this is a mere rhetorical device, and does not mean that we are really different persons.

In saying all this I am only joking, for I need the consolation of your writings. Fortunately Father Michael here knows them by heart, and even lends them additional charm by his Boeotian accent. He will give you my message when he brings this letter.

My true reasons for not writing were despondency and a capricious reuctance to be the first to break silence, in view of my seniority. Yet I have written first in the end, hoping to coax a letter out of you.

Father Michael will tell you of my cares and troubles.

2. Prodromus to Italicus

My short and simple letter has elicited a long and rich reply from you. Philippopolis cannot be as bad as you say, but must be a very home of the Muses and Graces, to judge by your charming letter. Your description of Rhodope is vivid.

I am sure you will be able, with the Patriarch's help, to deal with the heresies so rife in your diocese, and by argument bring the heretics back to the fold of Orthodoxy.

What of Kampsorhymes, the bane of Philippopolis? We have our own Kampsorhymes here, but all his efforts meet with snubs, and he will soon be brought to a halt.

I recommend to your good offices John, son-in-law of Dordanites, who is in your province.

Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ πρός τὸν Πρόδρομον.

Εἰ μὲν ἦμεν οὕτω συμφύντες ἀλλήλοις, σοφωτάτη ψυχή, καθάπερ ὁ Γηρυονεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἢ ὁ Τυφὼς ἢ⟨οἱ⟩ παρὰ τῷ Συμποσίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄνθρωποι, ἐχρῆν, οἶμαι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέγεσθαι καὶ προσομιλεῖν, καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἀπαιτεῖν τὰ καθήκοντα· νῦν δὲ οὔτε ὁμοφυεῖς ἡμεῖς οὔτε συμφυεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἄμφω· καὶ συνδυάζεταί πως | ἐνταῦθα παραδόξως ἡ μονὰς καὶ ταυτίζεται ἡ δυὰς καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτέρω τριάδος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πρεσβευομένης ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἵνα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑψηλολογήσω, σοφώτατε, τοῦθ' εὑρεῖν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς κατωτάτω δυάδος ἡμῶν. ἐπινοίαις γὰρ διαιρούμεθα, τῷ πράγματι δὲ ἑνούμεθα ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, τοὐναντίον ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων τῶν φυσικῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν ζώων φύσις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ταυτίζει πως τὴν τούτων ἐπίνοιαν, τοῖς γε μὴν πράγμασι διῴκισεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἕκαστα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἅτερος ἐν θατέρῳ, καὶ ὁ εἰπὼν Πρόδρομον τὸν Ἰταλικὸν συνειλήφει, καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τὸν Πρόδρομον συνενέφηνεν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ζῷον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἀντιστρέψειας ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάττονος τὸ μεῖζον, οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ μείζονος τοὔλαττον. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥσπερ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ γελαστικόν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἴδιον, τὸ δὲ οὗ ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἐν ἡμῖν δέ, φιλτάτη ψυχή, ξένη τις ἡ ἀντιστροφὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξῄρηται. καὶ μήποτε ὥσπερ ὅρος ἐσμὲν καὶ τὸ ὁριζόμενον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ δόξειεν ἴχνος ἐμφαίνειν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἑνότητος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελίσσει, τὸ δ' ἀναπλοῖ, καὶ τὸ μὲν τὴν φαντασίαν ὁλοσχερῆ τοῦ πράγματος δίδωσι, τὸ δὲ λεπτουργεῖ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐξαπλοῖ τὸ νοούμενον, τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ὁμοτίμως ἐν ἅπασι πίπτει· καὶ οὐκ ἐμὲ μεν ὁ φιλόσοφος νοῦς ἐθεώρησε, σὲ δ' ἡ τυχοῦσα γνῶσις ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ καθ' ἕνα λόγον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱστάμεθα, σοφωτέροις, ἀγροικοτέροις, πενεστέροις, πλουσιωτέροις, δούλοις, ἐλευθέροις, ὀφλοῦσιν, οὐκ ὀφλοῦσιν, ὡς ἥλιος εἷς καὶ κόσμος καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὅσα τῶν μοναδικῶν λέγεται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν πολυωνύμων ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ὅσα γε τῷ Πορφυρίῳ καὶ Σιμπλικίῳ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δοκεῖ κατὰ διαφόρους ἐνεργείας τὰ πράγματα τὰς πολυωνυμίας προβάλλεται· τὸ γὰρ ἄορ καὶ τὸ ξίφος εἰς ταὐτὸ μὲν καθήκει σημαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διότι ἀπῃώρηται καὶ παρήρτηται τῇ πλευρᾷ λέγεται, τὸ δ' ὅτι ὀξύτατον τὸν φόνον ἐργάζεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις καὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι· τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ καὶ εἰρήκαμεν πολλάκις καὶ βεβουλήμεθα, καὶ ἅτερος ἅτερον κατείληφε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιοῦντά τε καὶ

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8 *ὑμῶν* codd.
9 *τὸ ἐναντίον A πραγμάτων... ἀνρώπων* om *B*
26 *Συμπληκίω A*
27 *διαφόροις B*

βουλόμενον· καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν κοσμοῦμεν ἀμφότεροι ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ μέλει καὶ μεταβολῇ καὶ τῷ πρέποντι, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἡμῖν ἔστι μὲν οὗ διὰ πασῶν ἥκει τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκρότητος ἀπαστράπτει, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ ἐντριβόμεθα, τὸ μὲν τὸν Παιανιέα μιμούμενος, τὸ δὲ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην ζηλοῦντες καὶ τὴν Ἡροδότου γλυκύτητα μετὰ τοῦ στρυφνοῦ τῆς Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητος παρεμφαίνοντες. ἀναγόμεθά τε ἄμφω ἐπίσης ἐρωτικῶς καὶ φιλοσόφως καὶ μουσικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν καθ᾽ ἕκαστα μελῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἁρμονίαν ἀναφερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν σώματι καλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον κάλλος ἀναπτάντες, καὶ διὰ τῶν μαθημάτων τὰ τελεώτερα συμφιλοσοφήσαντες, καὶ συνεθίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς μεταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης οὐσίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τε καὶ ἀμέριστον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κύκλου ἐπὶ τὸν ψυχικόν, εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν νοερὸν καὶ εἴ τίς ἐστι τούτου θειότερος κύκλος ἄλλος ἄλλην ζωὴν θειοτέραν καὶ κρείττονα προβαλλόμενος· οἶσθ᾽ οὖν, φιλοσοφώτατέ μοι ἀνδρῶν, τίνι παρεικάζω τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς; ἔστι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν φιλοσόφοις ὃ καὶ μένει ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ καὶ πρόεισι καὶ ἐπιστρέφει κατὰ ταὐτόν, καὶ οὐ μένει μόνον, ἵνα μὴ ἓν εἴη, οὐδὲ πρόεισι μόνον καὶ ἐπιστρέφει, ἵνα μὴ δύο· ἔστιν οὖν καὶ ἓν καὶ δύο ἐκεῖνο. καὶ πυνθάνου περὶ τούτου τῆς ἀπορρήτου φιλοσοφίας· ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς πέπονθε καὶ ἐσμεν ἐν ἀλλήλοις οἷον ἀναχεόμενοι, καὶ πρόιμεν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων πλέον τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἢ τοῖς πράγμασι. καὶ ἔγωγε πολλάκις τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα περιβεβλημένος ἐνταῦθα καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου πόλιν τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἀνατιθέμενος τελετὰς δοκῶ μήποτε ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίδι Πρόδρομός εἰμι τὸν παραθαλάττιον τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν κατῳκηκώς, ἢ σὺ ὁ Πρόδρομος Ἰταλικός καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἱερατικήν στολήν περιβέβλησαι, ὡς μόνον τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους τὰς σχέσεις λαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἢ αὐτὸς κινηθεὶς ἢ ἄλλου κινηθέντος ἀρίστερός τε καὶ δεξιὸς γένοιτο. βούλει σοι καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπισχεδιάσομαι, φίλτατε, τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀφομοίωσιν; τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂν ἴδοις ἀστέρας ποτὲ μὲν ἑῴους ποτὲ δὲ ἑσπερινοὺς γεγενημένους· ὥσπερ οὗτοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διαφέρονται κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον σχέσεις, οὐκ εἰσὶ πολλοί, ἀλλ᾽ εἷς εστιν ἕκαστος· οὐδ᾽ ἡ σελήνη πολλὴ κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῆς προσνεύσεις καὶ ἀποστάσεις παντοδαπὰ τὰ σχήματα ἔχουσα· οὕτως οὐδ᾽ Ἰταλικὸς ἢ Πρόοδρομος πολλοὶ καθεστήκαμεν, κἂν ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ Βύζαντος ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου δοκεῖ κατέλειν· πλὴν ὅσον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας φύσεις ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐξαίρετον ἔχομεν, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀστὴρ ὅταν μὲν ὕπαυγος ᾖ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἑῷος, καὶ ὅταν ἑῷος οὐχ ὕπαυγος, οὐδ᾽ ὅταν ἑσπέριος ἑῷος ἢ τοὔμπαλιν, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Θρᾴκης οἰκῶν κατὰ ταὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα τὴν σὴν οἰκῶ, ἐνταυθοῖ μὲν Ἰταλικὸς ἐκεῖ δὲ λεγόμενος Πρόδρομος, ἢ σὺ τοῖς αὐτόθι τρεφόμενος οὐδὲν ἧττον πάρει τοῖς ἐνταυθοῖ. οὐδὲν δὲ διενήνοχε κἂν εἰ ἐκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖσε τὸν λόγον ποιούμεθα. μήποτ᾽ οὖν πρὸς μὲν τὰ σώματα ταῦτα ὅσα ὑπό χρόνον καὶ πρώτην κίνησιν οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἔχομεν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκροτάτους καὶ ἀσωμάτους τὴν φύσιν ἐπαναφέρομεν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καὶ

40 *ἀνάπτοντες* codd.
44 *ἄλλος κύκλος A*
47—48 *καὶ ἐπιστρέφει... πρόεις* om *A*
49 *τοῦ B*
52 *ἐνταῦθα* explicit *A*
57 malim *κινήσαντος*
68 *ἢ*: an *καὶ*?

ἅμα πάντα νοοῦσι καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἔστασιν ἐν τῷ παντί· οὕτως ὑπερφυεῖς ἡμεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀγχοῦ που τἀγαθοῦ καὶ πρώτου ἑνὸς καθεστήκαμεν; ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καθαρῶς ἓν καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ὑπέρτατον, καὶ μόνον ἓν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου κατηγορούμενον, καὶ οὔθ᾽ ὡς εἶδος οὔθ᾽ ὡς ἄτομον ἕν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι πληθυνόμεθα, Ἰταλικός, Πρόδρομος, φιλόσοφος, ἀρχιερεύς, ἢν δὲ βούλει παπᾶς, λαικός, μελανείμων, εὐπάρυφος, γεραίτερος, νεώτερος, ἵν᾽ ᾖ καὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς γῆς δὶς ἀνηβάσκειν — τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον, ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἔχειν δοκεῖν επί τινων παλαιτάτων ἀκούομεν. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστι καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐμά· καὶ δεδοξάσμεθα ἐν ἀλλήλοις· δοκῶ μοι καὶ ὅταν ἐσθίω αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα τὰς βαρυτάτας ἀλεκτορίδας ἢ τὰς πιοτάτας γεράνους καὶ τοὺς ἀγραίους χῆνας ἢ τοὺς πιμελώδεις λαγώους καὶ τοὺς σιτευτοὺς πέρδικας καὶ τῶν φασιανῶν τοὺς εὐσαρκωτάτους, ἐγὼ μὲν διαμασῶμαι, σὺ δὲ καταπίνεις, Ἰταλικὸς γὰρ εἶ· και σὺ δῆτα ὅταν τῶν οἴνων τοὺς ἀνθοσμίας καὶ τοὺς Χίους ἀπορροφῇς, αὐτὸς αἴσθάνομαι τῆς ἡδύτητος, Πρόδρομος γὰρ εἰμί, ὥστε τί δή σοι πέμπειν ἐπιστολὰς ἤ τινας ἑτέρας ἀποστολάς; πῶς γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ πέμψαιμι; καὶ μοι μὴ σύ γε τυροὺς ἐπιζήτει μήτε τὰ ἐκ τριχῶν προβατείων σκεπασματα, ἅπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἰδιῶται λοσνίχια λέγομεν. ἔχεις γὰρ ταῦτα ὁ Πρόδρομος Ἰταλικοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ λαλοῦντος ἀκούεις ὁπότε λαλεῖς αὐτός, καὶ γράφοντος γράφεις ἅπερ ἂν γράψειε, τοῦτο δ᾽ σὺ δήπου καταιτιᾷ διότι μὴ πρὸς σὲ γράφοιμι· τί γὰρ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν γράψαιμι, καὶ πῶς ὁ εἷς μερισθήσομαι; τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων πρὸς ἀπόντας εἰσίν· οὔτε δὲ βουλοίμην οὔτ᾽ ἂν δυναίμην ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπεῖναι, τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου Ἰταλικός. ὥστε μὴ ζητῶμεν τὰ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες. εἰ δ᾽ ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς λέγων ἡμῶν δυικοῖς ἢ πληθυντικοῖς ἐχρησάμην προσρήμασι, μὴ θαυμάσῃς· καὶ τοῦτο ῥητορικόν τε καὶ τεχνικώτατον· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ῥήτορες οἱ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων καταστησάμενοι οἷον οἱ περὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ τὰς Ἰσοκράτους Σειρῆνας ποτὲ μὲν περὶ τὰ ἑνιαῖα πληθύνονται καὶ φαντάζουσι τὸ ἓν ὡς πολλά, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅπου καὶ τὰ πλήθη τούτοις ἑνικοῖς ἐκπεφώνηται. ἐξογκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ συστέλλουσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὰ πράγματα τεχνιτεύμασιν, ὡς καὶ τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλως εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ μεγάλα μικροπρεπέστερον ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥσπερ μεταμορφοῦντες αὐτὰ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μεταπλάττοντες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, φιλτάτη ψυχή, σοφώτατέ μοι Θεόδωρε, προσέπαιξά σοι τῷ φίλῳ μικρὸν ἀνακύψας τῆς ἀθυμίας καὶ τῶν καμάτων ἅ με κατέλαβεν ὀλίγον ἀνανηξάμενος. καὶ ἔστι τὰ το αὐτα τῆς γλώττης τοῦ σοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ προσαθύρματα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς δόγματα. μαινοίμην γὰρ ἂν εἰ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ῥητορίαν ἐσπούδακα, ὡς μὴ δεῖν γράφειν μηδ᾽ ἐπιστέλλειν πρὸς σὲ τὸν φίλτατον φίλον τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις δισχυρίζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ εὑρεθήσομαι ζημιώσας ἢ τὸν σοφώτατον Πρόδρομον, εἴγε σπουδάζων εἰμὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ μὴ παίζων, ἀποφράττω ἄντικρυς τοῦ λόγου τὸ στόμα καὶ ἀποκλείω τὸν γλυκύτατον ῥοῦν, τὸν ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ῥέοντα ποταμόν, τὴν Καλλιόπην Ὁμήρου, τὴν Δημοσθένους ἠχώ, τὴν Πλάτωνος εὐγλωττίαν, τὴν μαγικὴν ἴυγγα, τὴν σὴν λέγω γλῶτταν, ἣ καταθέλγει μου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν· καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσω ποθὲν καὶ βραχύ τι τῆς σῆς ἠχοῦς, αἰσθάνομαί πως ἀγόμενος. ὁ γοῦν παρὼν οὑτοσὶ παπᾶς Μιχαὴλ πλέον ἀέρος ἀναπνεῖ

78 *λῆς δίς* : *γῆς γῆς* codd.
102 *τεχνιτεῦσιν* codd.

τοὺς λόγους το`ς σοὺς, πάντα πεζὸν λόγον, πᾶν ἰαμβεῖον ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχων. καὶ ἐπειδάν ποτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνέκυψα, προσέταττον τι κρουμάτιον ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς κιθάρας ἐπᾶσαί μοι· καὶ ᾖδεν εὐθύς, καὶ ἐπέρρει κατατείνων τὸ μέλος ἀκάθεκτον· καὶ ἐλάλει ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα, καὶ ἀμέτρως ἀμφότερα. προσετίθει γάρ τι καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς σαῖς χάρισι· Βοιωτὸς γὰρ ὤν, ὡς οἶσθα, καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι Ἀττικός, ἐν οἷς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο ἐξέπιπτε, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἀπόπτωμα τοῦ κατορθώματος ἥδιον. ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγε, καίτοι τὰ πολλὰ τούτου τὴν Μοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλικῶνος κατάγοντος, καὶ ὑποφθεγγομένου Βοιώτειον, ἐδόκουν καὶ οὕτως περιηχεῖσθαι τὴν ἀκοήν· ὥστ᾽ εἰ καὶ πέπομφα τοῦτον αὐτόθι, ἀνάγκῃ καὶ οὐχ ἑκὼν πέπομφα, οὕτω καλῆς προθυμίας ἀποστερούμενος. καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πυνθάνου· γράφειν γάρ σοι ταύτας οὐ βούλομαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀσχολοίμην ἀνιαροῖς διηγήμασιν. οὐ τοίνυν σοι διὰ τοὺς ἄνωθεν λόγους οὐκ ἔγραφον· ἤδη γὰρ ἀναλύω τοὺς λύρους ἐκείνους· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τὸ μέν τοι κατεμαλακίσθην, καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτῶ — τί γὰρ δὴ μὴ τἀληθῆ λέγειν; — καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπωλιγώρηκα ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν ἐνταυθοῖ συμφορῶν· οὐ διότι τῆς θεσπεσίας ἐπελαθόμην / τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ φωνῆς — ἐπιλαθοίμην γὰρ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ — τὸ δὲ τ... ἐκνισάμην πρὸς σὲ καὶ οἷον ἐρωτικόν τινα κνισμὸν ἐπεπόνθειν, μὴ βουλόμενος γράφειν πρὸς τὸν μὴ γράφοντα. ἀνέμενον γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ φωνήν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀτιφθεγξαίμην, καὶ λαβεῖν ἤλπιζον ἐνδόσιμον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κορυφαίου χοροῦ τοῦ σοῦ γράμματος. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνθεξαίμην ἂν τῶν πατρικῶν προνομίων· περιμένουσι γὰρ οἱ γεραίτεροι τὰς τῶν νεωτέρων προσαγορείας, ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνοι προσαγορεύουσι. πρώην μὲν γὰρ ὅτε σε ὁ Φοῖνιξ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἔτρεφον καὶ μύθων ῥητῆρα ἐτίθουν, αὐτὸς τῶν λόγων ἡγούμην· νῦν δὲ γεγηρακότος τοῦ σοῦ Φοίνικος Ἀχιλλεὺ ἀρχελόγων αὐτός. καὶ μὴ παράβαινέ μοι λόγους Λακωνικούς, οἵ καὶ θώκων ἐξανίστανται πρεσβυτέροις καὶ προλαμβάνουσι τὰς προσαγορείας, ἵνα μή ἄλλος τις φθάσειε προσειπών. ὥστε τὸ μὲν ὅτι ὁ φίλος αὐτός ἐστιν οἶδα, καὶ ὡς ψυχὴ μία ἐν δυσὶ σώμασι σχέσει γὰρ ἥνωται τὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ διαθέσει, καὶ οἷον ἀνάκρασις ἤθους ἐν τούτοις γίνεται — καὶ ὅτι τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει θεὸς εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον. δύο μὲν τοι ἐστιν ἐξ ἅπαντος καὶ διῄρηνται καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνταποδιδόασιν. οὐκοῦν ἄλλος μὲν ἑαυτὸς ὁ ἐμὸς Πρόδρομος, ἄλλος δε ἐγὼ ὁ σὸς Ἰταλικὸς καθεστήκαμεν, εἰ βούλει δε καὶ τῷ τόπῳ, εἰ ἐθέλεις δὲ καὶ τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι. καὶ οἷς μὲν διενήνοχε Πρόδρομος Ἰταλικοῦ παρακολουθῶ· φιλῶ δὲ σὲ ὡς ἐμαυτόν, πλὴν ἀλλὰ βουλοίμην τὰ καθήκοντα πρώτως παρὰ σοῦ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ὥσπερ Ἐσαῦ τὰ πατρικὰ μου προνόμια, καὶ οὕτως ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἠθέτηκα· καὶ γράφω πρῶτος καὶ προλαμβάνω καὶ ἐπιστέλλω καὶ ἐκκαλοῦμαι πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τὰς σὰς ἀπεριηγήτους ἡδονὰς τῶν λόγων καὶ χάριτας, καὶ παραφθέγγομαί σοι καὶ περιμένω ἀντακοῦσαι τῆς γλυκείας ἠχοῦς. περὶ δὲ τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς πυνθάνου, καθάπερ εἶπον, τῷ παπᾶ Μιχαήλ, καὶ οὗτος ἐρεῖ σοι σχολὴν εὑράμενος ἐν πόσοις καὶ οἵοις ἐσμὲν πράγμασι καὶ ὀχλήσεσι· μὴ γὰρ ἔγωγε λυποίην τὸν φίλον ἀηδέσιν ἐνδιατριβῶν ἀγγελίαις καὶ κατάγγελός τις γινόμενος.

139 ῥυτῆρα cod.

Τοῦ Προδρόμου πρὸς τὸν Ἰταλικόν.

Τὸν μὲν στρατιώτην ἐκεῖνον, οἶδας ὅν λέγω, τὸν Αἰτωλὸν, τὸ ἔπος τῆς Ἰλιάδος εὐτυχηκότα πεποίηκεν, οἷα μετηλλαχότα κατ᾽ αὐτήν "χρυσέα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεαβοίων". ἐγὼ δὲ ἄρα πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ πάντως ἢ ἐκείνου πεπονθότος εὖ ἐπαισθάνομαι, μικρὰς ἐπιστείλας τῇ σῇ μακαριότητι συλλαβὰς καὶ τὸ ὅλον χάλκεον ὑπηχούσας πλοῦτον ἐκομισάμην αὐτόθι ὅτι πολύν, πλοῦτον οὐχ οἷον ὁ Πακτωλὸς ἐρεύγεται οὐδ᾽ οἷον ἡ Ἰνδικὴ γεωργεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ὁποῖον ἡ φιλοσοφία βλύζει καὶ ἡ ὑπερτέρα σοφία γεννᾷ. τί δέ; ἀλλὰ μήποτε ἄλλοτε τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως πενίαν καταψηφίσαιο, ἢ εἴπῃς ὡς λυπρόν ἐστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ οὐδὲν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἴσως φύει, πονηρὸν δὲ εἴ τί που καὶ Κηρῶν αὐτόχρημα ἔθνεα, κατά τὴν Σικελικὴν Μούσαν ἐκτραγῳδῆσαι, πολλοῦ δὲ ἀλλὰ δέω πιστεύειν αὐτός, ἐμὲ τέως ὁρῶν ταῖς αὐτόθι ὡς ἡμᾶς ἠκούσαις περιεστεμμένον ἁβρότησι καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις ἐκπρέποντα χάρισιν. ἀλλὰ μήπου τὰς ἐννέα Μούσας ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει καὶ μόνας περιχορεύειν εἴπῃς αὐτάς, ἢ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας ἐκείνας τὰς τρεῖς ἐνδιαιτάσθαι τῷ σῷ, καὶ ἑκατέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐξανελίττειν χορείαν ἐμμελῶς καὶ σοφῶς, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίους ἔγωγε τίθημι καὶ τὰς Μούσας αὐτῷ σοὶ συμπεριπολεῖν καὶ τὰς Χάριτας· οὕτως ἐψυχαγωγήθην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ἰύγγων αὐτός, οὕτως ἐμουσουργήθην, οὕτω τοσαύτης ἐμπεφόρημαι χάριτος καὶ ἐνθουσιῶ καὶ ἐπιθειάζω τὴν σὴν ἐξανελίττων γραφήν. ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὴν σὴν Ῥοδόπην ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπορρέοντας ποταμούς, τὰ ἄστη τὰ σά, τὴν πόλιν τὴν σὴν, τὸν ὅλον κύκλον ὃν περιγράφεις καὶ μεγαληγορῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, οὐ διὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἴσως ἐν καλῷ τοῦ ἀέρος θέσεις, ἢ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος λειοκυμονοῦν, ἢ διὰ τὴν χλιδὴν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ σὲ πάντως, τὸν ἐμὸν πολυτίμητον νοῦν, τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλήν, τὴν ἐμὴν φιλτάτην ψυχήν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀκανθεῶνες αἱρέσεων ὅλοι τὴν σὴν κληρουχίαν ὑλομανήσαντες περιέρπουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχεις τὸ πῦρ ἐπαφεῖναι τούτοις τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ αἴφνης αὐτίκα καταφλεγήσονται. καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα γῆ λιθώδης ἄντικρυς καὶ ἀπόκροτος τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις οὐ τέγγοιτο καὶ μαλάττοιτο, μήποτε ταύτην οὕτω παρόψει μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀκαμπῆ καὶ σκληράν; οὐ μεν οὖν οἶμαι· κατακλύσεις δὲ ἀλλὰ ταύτην τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀναρρήξας καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἀναστομώσας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ἐάσω τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς αἰσχύνης· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπαφήσει τὸ πῦρ ὁ σὸς Ἡλίου· ἀλλ᾽ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἐγείρῃ ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰησοῦς τέκνα τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ φυτεύσεις καὶ μεταφυτεύσεις πνευματικαῖς γεηπονίαις ἱερωτέραις ἀνάγκαις νεόφυτα ἐλαίου κύκλῳ τῆς τραπέζης Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πονηροῦ μαθητὰς Παύλῳ τῷ σῷ καὶ ἐμῷ προσαγάγῃς τῷ θεοκήρυκι, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ Χριστοῦ. τί δὲ ἄρα ὁ Καμψορύμης, ὁ τῆς ἀπωλείας υἱὸς, τὸ τῇ Φιλιππουπόλει ἐπεισκωμάσαν, ὡς οἶσθα, πάλαι κακόν; Καμψορύμης καὶ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι, παιπάλημα καὶ περίτριμμα, περιερχόμενος ἅπαντας, ὑπερχόμενος, διερχόμενος στενωπούς, ἀγοράς, ἀρχεῖα, νεώς, καὶ ἁπαντοχόθεν, ὡς ἔγνων, οἷα μύσος ἀπελαυνόμενος· ὡς ἐγῷμαι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ παυσορύμης ἀναδειχθήσεται. ἅπαν ἡμέτερον στόμα κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρωπαρίου τούτου ἀνέῳγε· καὶ εὖ τοι τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δικαιοτέρων. περὶ οὗ καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνος cod.
4 ἐπιστολῆς cod.
11 οἰκούτοις cod.
24 κατακλείττις cod.
28 γεμπονικαῖς cod.

τὴν προτεραίαν ἠξίωσα τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν, οὗτος ὑπὸ σοὶ ποιμένι τάττεται καὶ πατρί· καλείσθω δὴ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ κατ᾽ ὄνομα, καὶ εἰσαγέσθω πρὸς σέ, καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀξιούσθω καὶ κηδεμονίας καὶ χάριτος καὶ τῶν σῶν καλῶν μειλιγμάτων. Ἰωάννης τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα, γαμβρὸς τοῦ Δορδανίτου τὸ γνώρισμα. ἡ εὐχή σου τὸν θεὸν ἐξιλεούσθω μοι.

Commentary

1 σ υ μ φ ύ ν τ ε ς A key word in certain Byzantine developments on friendship. It occurs as av. l. in Plato, Symposium 192 D, the fundamental text in this series. For later examples cf. Synesios ep. 152 (Hercher, p. 735). Basil ep. 133 (Deferrari II, p. 312), Theodore Patricius, cited from cod. Patm. 706 and cod. Athous Lavra 1938 by G. Karlsson, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine, Uppsala, 1959, 65, who studies this theme in some detail.

2 οἱ π α ρ ὰ τ ῷ Σ υ μ π ο σ ί ῳ κ τ λ. Cf. Plato, Symposium 192 D-E. For a discussion of this theme in Byzantine epistolography cf. G. Karlsson, op. cit., 62—67. The illustration of the concept of blending together of souls by the story of Aristophanes in the Symposium seems to be a Neoplatonic development. As Karlsson suggests, Michael Italicus is gently ridiculing a stock epistolary theme. In his ability to stand outside of and criticise the cultural tradition which he so richly inherits, he was unusual in the twelfth century.

8 ἐ π ι ν ο ί α ι ς This use of the word (='concept') derives from Neoplatonic interpreters of Aristotle. Both Alexander of Aphrodisias and Simplicius regularly use ἐπίνοια in opposition to ὑπόστασις, οὐσία, etc. I have not been able to find a parallel for the present opposition of ἐπίνοια and πρᾶγμα.

12 σ υ ν ε ι λ ή φ ε ι N. B. pluperfect used as equivalent of aorist, parallel to συνενέφηνεν.

13 ὁ τ ὸ ν ἄ ν θ ρ ω π ο ν τ ὸ ζ ῷ ο ν = ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰπὼν τὸ ζῷον συνειλήφει. The reference is to Aristot. Categ. 3 p. 1 b, and more particularly to Porphyrius, Eisagoge 2. 9. ἔστι δὲ γένος μὲν οἷον τὸ ζῷον, εἶδος δὲ οἷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, διαφορὰ δὲ οἷον τὸ λογικόν, ἴδιον δὲ οἷον τὸ γελαστικόν.

14 ἀ ν τ ι σ τ ρ έ ψ ε ι α ς 'convert terms, predicate reciprocally'. The examples cited by the lexica appear to be all of the intransitive use 'correspond, reciprocate with'.

15 τ ὸ ν ἄ ν θ ρ ω π ο ν κ α ὶ τ ὸ γ ε λ α σ τ ι κ ό ν cf. Porphyrius passage cited above.

17 ἀ ν τ ι σ τ ρ ο φ ή 'conversion of terms'. Cf. Aristot. A. Pr. 26 b 18, etc.

17—18 ὅ ρ ο ς κ α ὶ τ ὸ ὁ ρ ι ζ ό μ ε ν ο ν Cf. Porphyrius In Categ. Aristot. 68. 18 ff.

19 ἀ ν ε λ ί σ σ ε ι, ἀ ν α π λ ο ῖ Apparently 'describe explicitly' and 'reveal implicitly, without logical order'. Both terms are common in the Neoplatonic commentaries on Aristotle, e. g. Simplicius In Phys. 276. 25 ff. ὁριζόμενοι τί ἐστιν ἕκαστον, ἀποδίδομεν τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μορφὴν μόνην τὸ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα καὶ μέγεθος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸ κατὰ τὸν μονοειδῆ τύπον τοῦ ἀ ν ε ι λ ι γ μ έ ν ο υ ὁ ρ ι σ μ ο ῦ, ὃ καὶ συντρέχει

τῷ ὁρισμῷ. id. 441. 10 ff. διορίσας οὖν τοῦτα, ἄρχεται λοιπὸν τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀ ν α π λ ο ύ σ η ς οὕτω, etc. But I have not found any passage where the two terms are opposed, as here.

20 ἐ ξ α π λ ο ῖ τ ὸ ν ο ο ύ μ ε ν ο ν = ἀνειλιγμένος ὁρισμός.

21 ὁ φ ι λ ό σ ο φ ο ς ν ο ῦ ς ἐ θ ε ώ ρ η σ ε = ὅρος.
ἡ τ υ χ ο ῦ σ α γ ν ῶ σ ι ς ἐ δ έ ξ α τ ο = τὸ ὁριζόμενον.

25 τ ω ν μ ο ν α δ ι κ ῶ ν Once again the source is Simplicius, In Categ. 55 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴδη τινά ἐστιν μοναδικὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, τὰ μὲν ἀΐδια πάντα, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ἐν τοῖς γενητοῖς δὲ, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὁ φοῖνιξ τὸ ὄρνεον.

26 π ο λ υ ω ν ύ μ ω ν Italicus is evidently drawing on Simplicius In Categ. 38. 24 ff. πολυώνυμα δέ ἐστιν τὰ διάφορα καὶ πολλὰ ὀνόματα καθ᾽ ἑνὸς πράγματος, ὅταν εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν ᾖ λόγος, ὥσπερ ἄορ ξίφος μάχαιρα φάσγανον. Simplicius in his turn is merely paraphrasing Porphyrius In Categ. 69. lff. λέγω ὅτι πολυώνυμά ἐστιν ὧν διάφορα μὲν καὶ πλεῖστα ὀνόματα, ὁ δὲ λόγος εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ὡς ἄορ, ξίφος, φάσγανον κτλ.

29 τ ὸ μ ὲ ν δ ι ό τ ι ἀ π η ώ ρ η τ α ι κ τ λ. Cf. Etymologicum Magnum s. v. ἄορ: παρὰ τὸ ἀείρω, ἄορ τὸ ξίφος, ὅπλον, δόρυ.
τ ὸ δ᾽ ὅ τ ι ὀ ξ ύ τ α τ ο ν τ ὸ ν φ ό ν ο ν ἐ ρ γ ά ζ ε τ α ι. Cf. Etymologicum Magnum s. v. ξίφος: παρὰ τὸ ξαίνειν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὀξύνεσθαι πρὸς φόνον κτλ.

33 ἁ ρ μ ο ν ί ᾳ κτλ. On these words as technical terms of rhetorical theory cf. W. Rhys Roberts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters, Cambridge, 1901, 183—208.

35 ἐ ν τ ρ ι β ό μ ε θ α 'we affect a style not our own'. The metaphor is from the application of cosmetics.

37 τ ὴ ν Ἡ ρ ο δ ό τ ο υ γ λ υ κ ύ τ η τ α κ τ λ. The phrases are commonplaces. Michael Italicus speaks in an earlier letter of τῆς Ἡροδότου γλυκύτητος, τῆς τοῦ Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητος (J. A. Gramer, Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia III, 169. 15). Στρυφνότης as a term of literary criticism occurs first in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demosthenes 30. Cf. note on 1. 122.

38 ᾽α ν α γ ό μ ε θ ά τ ε ἄ μ φ ω κ τ λ. Michael is thinking of the Platonic degrees of knowledge.

39 τ ὴ ν π ρ ώ τ η ν ἁ ρ μ ο ν ί α ν. The Pythagorean cosmic harmony. I have not found the actual phrase elsewhere.

41 τ ὰ τ ε λ ε ώ τ ε ρ α σ υ μ φ ι λ ο σ ο φ ή σ α ν τ ε ς For the internal accusative cf. Strabo 16. 2. 24.

43 ἀ π ὸ τ ο ῦ δ ε τ ο ῦ κ ύ κ λ ο υ ἐ π ὶ τ ὸ ψ υ χ ι κ ὸ ν κ τ λ. Cf. Proclus In Timaeum 3 p. 233. 18 D ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη μὲν εἰκὼν τοῦ νοεροῦ κύκλου, ὡς ἀρσενωπός, αὕτη δὲ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ, ὡς θηλυπρεπὴς κτλ.

46 ἔ σ τ ι τ ι τ ο ι ο ῦ τ ο ν ἐ ν φ ι λ ο σ ό φ ο ι ς κ τ λ. Here again the reference is probably to Proclus' commentary on the Timaeus, where there are many passages in which μένειν is thus paradoxically contrasted with προϊέναι and other verbs of motion. It would be wrong to seek a particular passage as Michael's source here, since he is clearly very familiar with the Neoplatonic commentators on Plato.

52 ποδήρη Used of the High Priest's robe in LXX Ex. 25. 6.
ἐπωμίδα Used of the High Priest's ephod. in LXX Ex. 28. 6 ff. Hence both terms are used of the vestments of the Christian Bishop. The latter is the ἐπιτραχήλιον or ὠράριον of the liturgy, the former probably the στοιχάριον.

53 δοκῶ μήποτε... εἰμι. A further development of the construction δοκεῖν ὅτι, which appears from the N. T. onwards, e. g. Matth. 26. 53, Luc. 12. 51. In texts from late antiquity and the early Byzantine age we find all kinds of clauses loosely attached as object-clauses to verbs of thinking or knowing which in Classical Greek were followed by infinitive or accusative and infinitive. Cf. H. Ljungvik, Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache (Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet. i Uppsala 27. 3), 1932, 90 ff.

54 τὸ παραθαλάττιον τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν κατωκηκώς. Cf. Papadimitriu, Feodor Prodrom, 204, n. 175, Fuchs, Die höheren Schulen von K-pel im Mittelalter, 56. The church referred to seems to be that of Sts. Peter and Paul ἐν τῷ ὀρφανοτροφείῳ, situated somewhere on the Acropolis a short distance from the Marmara shore, though its precise location remains uncertain; of. R. Janin, Les Églises et les monastères, 413—414. It is frequently attested in the twelfth century as the seat of all of the non-theological teachers of the Patriarchal school. Prodromus is therefore at this time probably either γραμματικός or μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων or an assistant to one or other of these.

55 σὺ δ Πρόδρομος Ἰταλικὸς = σὺ ὁ Π. δοκεῖς μήποτε Ἰ. εἶ, or the like.

55 ὡς μόνον τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους κτλ. Probably inspired by Aristotle, De Caelo 2. 2, in which the question is examined whether there is a δεξιὸν καὶ ἀριστερὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Cf. in particular ... ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνάπολιν στραφῇ, τὰ ἐναντία ἐροῦμεν δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά.

58 τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂν ἴδοις ἀστέρας κτλ. Michael Italicus is well-informed on astronomy and fond of astronomical analogies. There is a complex astronomical analogy, involving much use of technical terms, in his inaugural lecture as διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (cod. Bononiensis, Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol. 80ᵛ, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 233ᵛ.

61 προσνεύσεις 'inclination', cf. Ptol. Math. 5.5, Proclus, Hypotyposis 1. 30.
ἀποστάσεις 'dictances', but what distances?

65 ὕπαυγος 'within 15° of the sun'. On this whole passage cf. Scholia ad Paul Alex. Εἰσαγωγικά p. 111 Boer: Ἰστέον ὅτι, ὁπόταν ὁ Ἥλιος ἔρχεται κατόπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς ἢ τοῦ Κρονουῆτοῦ Ἄρεως, ἀπέχει ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνων μοίρας ιε, λέγονται οἱ ἀστέρες ἐκεῖνοι δυτικοί. ὅταν δὲ τελείως μοιρικῶς τούτους φθάσῃ, λέγονται ὕπαυγοι. ὅταν δὲ ἀποστῇ ἢ τούτων ὁ Ἥλιος μοίρας ιε ἢ και ι, λέγονται οἱ ἀστέρες ἐκεῖνοι ἑῷοι ἀνατολικοί κτλ.

72 τὴν φύσιν ἐπαναφέρομεν is translatable. But perhaps we should read ⟨κοινὴν⟩ τὴν φύσιν.

73 ἅμα πάντα νοοῦσι looks like a reminiscence of Parmenides frg. 2 D, λεῦσσε δ᾿ ὅμως ἀπεόντα νόῳ παρέοντα βεβαίως. But there may be a Neoplatonic model.

76 φιλόσοφος if parallel to ἀρχιερευς ought to be a title, not a mere description. But the office of ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων seems to have been in desuetude in the early years of Manuel Comnenus' reign, and had perhaps been so since the death of Theodore of Smyrna. Cf. Michael Choniates, Monody on Michael Anchialus, ed. Lampros I. 81 πολὺς γὰρ ἐρρύη καιρὸς ἐξ οὗ λιποῦσα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὡς ἡ παρ᾿ Ἡσιόδῳ Δίκη παρθένος, εἰς τὸν ἀθάνατον χῶρον ἀνέπτατο (ἡ φιλοσοφία) κτλ., and Michael Anchialus' address to Manuel I on his appointment to the recreated office, which I am editing in a forthcoming number of **Balkan Studies.** There is no sign of a teacher of philosophy as such on the establishment of the patriarchal school. So φιλόσοφος here must be a mere complimentary description.

77 μελανείμων Cf. μελανειμονία of a monk's garb in Nik. Chon. 324 A.

77 εὐπάρυφος 'notable, dignitary' attested in Plutarch, Lucian, Philostratus, etc.
γεραίτερος We do not know the date of the birth of Michael Italikus. He died as Archbishop of Philippopolis some time between 1147 and 1160 (M. Treu, B. Z. 4 (1895) 20). In his inaugural lecture as διδάσκαλος ταῦ εὐαγγελίου he already speaks of himself as an old man: πρὸς ἑσπέραν τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης ᾐσθόμην· ὁ γάρ ἐστι κνέφας ἐν τῷ ἡμερινῷ διαστήματι, τοῦτο ὑπαργυρίζουσαι τρίχες οἷς ὁ βίος παρήκμακεν (Cod. Bononiensis Bibl. Universitaria 2412 fol. 78ᵛ, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 232ᵛ).

78 δὶς ἀνηβάσκειν cf. the epigram attributed to Pindar in the Vita Hesiodi, χαῖρε δὶς ἡβήσας καὶ δὶς τάφου ἀντιβολήτας,
Ἡσίοδ᾿, ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.
The epigram is also cited by Suidas s. v. Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας and in Prov. Vat. IV 3, in a quotation from Aristotle's Ὀρχομενίων πολίτεια.

81 τὰς βαρυτάτας ἀλεκτορίδας κτλ.: Poultry and game from Bulgaria was prized in twelfth century Constantinople. Cf. John Tzetzes, Εἰς τὴν παρθενομάρτυρα Λουκίαν, Papodopoulos-Kerameus, Varia graeca sacra 83, 1. 22 πῶν ἄρτους λευκούς με οἴεσθε λέγειν καὶ βρώματα, βόας καὶ ὄις καὶ ὄρνις, ὁποῖοι οἱ ἐκ Παιόνων καὶ οἱ ἐκ Φάσιδος; κτλ.

81 ἀλεκτορὶδας: Classified as poetic Phryn. 228, as Hellenistic Pollux 2. 15, but apparently an 'Atticism' for a twelfth-century Byzantine writer.
τὰς πιοτάτας γεράνους: Cranes, though little appreciated as food today, were regarded as delicacies in Byzantium. Cf. Poullogos v. 181 τὸν (sc. γέρανον) τρώγουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ πόθου, καὶ τρώγουσι τὰ ἄκρη μου οἱ ἄρχοντες κρασᾶτα.

88 πῶς γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ πέμψαιμι: A reductio ad absurdum of the theory of the spiritual unity of friends, which plays such a large part in Byzantine epistolography. Cf. G. Karlsson, op. cit. 57 ff.

88 τυροὺς: Cheeses appear again in the letter from Michael Italicus to Theodore Prodromus in cod. Paris 2872 fol. 120—122, edited by Papa-

dimitriu, F e o d o r P r o d r o m, 321—324, as gifts which a Constantinopolitan might expect from a friend in Bulgaria. Bacon is mentioned in the same letter. It is clear that in the eyes of twelfth-century Byzantines Bulgaria was a land rich in agricultural products.

89 *λ ο σ ν ί χ ι α*: This word is evidently Slavonic l o ž ь n i k ъ, Bulgarian l o ž n i k, Serbian l o ž n i k, 'bedcover, rug', Ukrainian l i ž n y k 'coarse cloak', Hungarian l a z s n a k 'cover', etc. For a full discussion of this word cf. I. Kniezsa, A m a g y a r n y e l v s z l á v j ö v e r é n y s z a v a i, I, Budapest 1959, 308—309. To the forms there cited can be added Albanian l o z n i k, l o s n i k, 'coarse cloak'. The disappearance of the j e r is normal by the twelfth century. It is not clear whether the object so described is a cloak or a bedcover; probably it could fulfil either function. Greek *σκέπασμα* more often means 'cloak', but the other meaning cannot be ruled out.

96 *δ υ ΐ κ ο ῖ ς*: There are in fact no dual forms in the letter.

98 *οἱ π ε ρ ὶ 'Α ρ ι σ τ ε ί δ η ν*: There is no mention of this subject in Ps-Aristides D[illegible] R h e t o r i c a, and Italicus is unlikely to have read the R h e t o r i c of Isocrates, of which there is no direct trace later than Quintilian. He is probably thinking of such passages as Aristotle, R h e t. 3. 6 *εἰς ὄγκον δὲ τῆς λέξεως συμβάλλεται τάδε... καὶ τὸ ἓν πολλὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ ποιοῦσιν· ἑνὸς ὄντος λιμένος ὅμως λέγουσι λιμένας εἰς 'Αχαϊκοὺς' καί 'δελτοῦ μὲν οἵδε πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί*; and Ps.-Longinus, *Περὶ ὕψους* 23, especially § 2 *ἔσθ' ὅπου προσπίπτει τὰ πληθυντικὰ μεγαλορρημονέστερα καὶ αὐτῷ δοξοκοποῦντα τῷ ὄχλῳ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.*

99 *τ ὰ ς 'Ι σ ο κ ρ ά τ ο υ ς Σ ε ι ρ ῆ ν α ς*: Michael Italicus uses the same phrase in an earlier letter: *τῆς 'Ισοκράτους Σειρῆνος, τῆς Δημοσθένους ἠχοῦς* (Cramer, A n e c d o t a g r e a c a O x o n i e n s i a III 109—15). Psellus, Encomium on Constantine Monomachos, ed. C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* V, 110, has *ὅταν ὁμιλοῦντος ἀκούσω, τῆς Δημοσθένους γλώττης αἰσθάνομαι, τῆς τοῦ Περικλέους τῆς τοῦ Πολέμωνος, τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος, τῆς Λυσιακῆς εὐστομίας, τῆς 'Ισοκράτους σειρῆνος, τῆς 'Ηροδότου γλυκύτητος, τῆς χρυσῆς γλώττης τοῦ Δίωνος.* Both are copying some common source.

107 *π ρ ο σ α θ ύ ρ μ α τ α*: Not in lexica. But *προσαθύρω* is used by Philostratus.

107 *μ α ι ν ο ί μ η ν γ ὰ ρ ἂ ν* The meaning of this involved sentence is 'I would be mad if I used such rhetorical tricks seriously against myself, and so I declare that I must not write or communicate with you, my dearest friend, in such terms'. *ὡς... δυσχορίζεσθαι* is consecutive. For this construction as an 'Atticism' cf. G. Böhlig, U n t e r s u c h u n g e n z u m r h e t o r i s c h e n S p r a c h g e b r a u c h d e r B y z a n t i n e r m i t b e s o n d e r e r B e r ü c k s i c h t i g u n g d e r S c h r i f t e n d e s M i c h a e l P s e l l o s, 200—201.

110 *ἢ = μᾶλλον ἤ.*

113 *τ ὴ ν Δ η μ ο σ θ έ ν ο υ ς ἠ χ ώ*: cf. Cramer, A n e c d o t a g r a e c a O x o n i e n s i a III 169, 15, quoted on line 122.

114 *ἴ υ γ γ α*: On the *ἴυγξ* in the Byzantine ideology of friendship cf. G. Karlsson, o p. c i t. 101 ff.

114 *τ ὴ ν φ ω ν ὴ ν* Because the recipient read the letter aloud.

116 *π α π ᾶ ς Μ ι χ α ὴ λ* Apparently the messenger who carried the correspondence between Italicus and Prodromus.

119 *κ α τ α τ ε ί ν ω ν τ ὸ μ έ λ ο ς.* On the analogy of *κατατείνειν λόγον* = 'prolong an argument'.

125 *α ὐ τ ό θ ι* of place whence =*αὐτόθεν* seems unparalleled. I hesitate, however, to emend to *αὐτόθεν* in view of the same construction twice in the following letter from Prodromus to Italicus, 11. 6, *πλοῦτον ἐκομισάμην αὐτόθι ὅτι παλίν*, 14 *ταῖς αὐτόθι ὡς ἡμᾶς ἠκούσαις περιεστεμμένον ἀβρότησι.*

126 *κ α ὶ τ ὰ ς α ἰ τ ί α ς κ τ λ.* On the role of the bearer of the letter as the carrier of the actual message, while the letter itself remains an abstract expression of friendship, cf. G. Karlsson, o p. c i t. 17—21.

128 *ο ὐ τ ο ί ν υ ν σ ο ι κ τ λ.* Italicus for the moment drops the mask, and speaks of his difficulties in Philippopolis. These clearly arose not merely from the absence of his friends and the cultured life of the capital in which he had played a leading part for so many years, but also from the activities of heretics — Bogomils or Paulicians or both — as the next letter makes clear.

133 *ἐ κ ν ι σ ά μ η ν* Classical usage demands the passive. On the Byzantine use of middle for passive, regarded as an Atticism because it was contrary to the norm of living speech, cf. Böhlig, o p. c i t. 81.

135 *ἐ ν δ ό σ ι μ ο ν* 'key-note'.

138 *π ρ ώ η ν μ ὲ ν γ ὰ ρ κ τ λ.* This must refer to some time ago, as Prodromus was now a well-established literary figure. *τῶν λόγων ἡγούμην* implies that what Italicus taught Prodromus was rhetoric. Prior to his episcopal office, Italicus had been *διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, and earlier still *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου* in the Patriarchal school. The evidence for this is contained in his inaugural lecture, which I hope to edit soon elsewhere along with other inaugural lectures delivered in the Patriarchal school. He must have been referring to a still earlier tenure of the Chair of Rhetoric, as *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων*, when Prodromus was his pupil.

139 *μ ύ θ ω ν ῥ η τ ῆ ρ α* cf. II. 9. 443.

141 *π α ρ ά β α ι ν ε* Apparently 'omit', 'pass over'.

θ ώ κ ω ν ἐ ξ α ν ί σ τ α ν τ α ι π α ρ ε σ β υ τ έ ρ ο ι ς A reminiscence of Aristoph. Nub. 993 *καὶ τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιοῦσιν.*

143 *ὥ σ τ ε τ ὸ μ ὲ ν ὅ τ ι κ τ λ.* Italicus sums up the half-serious argument of the earlier part of his letter. The *μὲν* is left without correspondence.

143 *ψ υ χ ὴ μ ί α ἐ ν δ υ σ ὶ σ ώ μ α σ ι* Cf. Greg. Naz. E n c o m i u m B a s i l i(MPA 36. 5210) *μία... ἀμφοτέροις ἐδόκει ψυχή, δύο σώματα φέρουσα*, Theodore Studites, K o n t a k i o n o n S t. B a s i l (Pitra, A n a l e c t a S a c r a I 346, Strophe 6) *ἐν σώμασι γὰρ δυσὶ μία ψυχὴ ἐκράθη ἀμφοῖν ὑμῖν*, and other passages cited by G. Karlsson, o p. c i t. 61—62.

145 *δ ύ ο μ έ ν τ ο ι ἐ σ τ ὶ ν* The text is corrupt. The meaning must be that two souls or the like are separated off from the rest of the universe and put in a special state of communication with one another.

148 *ἐ θ έ λ ε ι ς* An 'Atticism' for *θέλεις*. N. B. *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω* used in parallel clauses.

149 παρακολουθῶ 'follow' in the sense 'understand, am conscious of', common in the philosophical literature of late antiquity.

155 πυνθάνου... τῷ παπᾷ Μιχαήλ. A good example of hyperurbanism in case usage. As living speech replaced most datives by genitives, so the literary language abnormally uses a dative for the genitive of origin with verbs of perception. Cf. Script. orig. Constant. I. 52. 21 τοῖς συνοδεύουσιν ἐπύθετο, Ignatius, Tetrasticha Iambica, (in the Teubner Babrius, p. 281) 45 αὕτη δ' ἔλ.ξι καὶ δόναξι πεύθετο, πῶς εἰσιν ὀρθοί. Other examples cited by D. Tabachovitz, Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor, Uppsala 1926, 10—11.

158 κατάγγελος 'denouncer', a sence not recorded in L. S. J., but καταγγελία, 'denunciation' is found from Josephus on.

Letter of Prodromus to Italicus

1 τὸν μὲν στρατιώτην ἐκεῖνον Diomedes, cf. Il. 6. 286; he was an Aetolian by descent, cf. Apollod. 1. 8. 5.

4 τῇ σῇ μακαριότητι The formal style of address to a Metropolitan. Cf. H. Zilliacus, Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen, Helsingfors, 1919.

5 αὐτόθι Cf. note on Italicus' letter, line 153.

6 ἡ Ἰνδικὴ γεωργεῖ A reference to the story of the gold-digging ants in Herod. 3. 102, Strabo 705 (quoting Megasthenes and other authorities), etc.

7 ὁποῖον ἡ φιλοσοφία βλύζει For internal accusative with βλύζω cf. A. P. 7. 27, Orphic Argonautica 599, Nonnus D. 17. 125, etc.

8 μήποτε καταψηφίσαιο... ἢ εἴπῃς Presumably a prohibition rather than a cautious assertion. μή + opt. in prohibitions is probably a development of the wishing optative, and is common in late antiquity and Byzantine times. Cf. R. de L. Henry, The Late Greek Optative and its Use in the Writings of Gregory Nazianzen, 1943, 10—11, and literature cited there. The parallelism of optative and subjunctive is too common in Byzantine Greek to need comment. Presumably the letter to which this is a reply contained complaints regarding Philippopolis and its inhabitants, and particularly their heretical beliefs (see below).

10 Κηρῶν αὐτόχρημα ἔθνεα κτλ. The reference is to Empedocles frg. 121 Diels: — ἀτερπέα χῶρον ἔνθα Φόνος τε Κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα Κηρῶν, αὐχμηραί τε νόσοι καὶ σήψιες ἔργα τε ῥευστά Ἄτης ἀν λειμῶνα κατὰ σκότος ἠλάσκουσιν. Italicus could have found the second verse in Hierocles, ad Cor. aur. 24, or in Proclus, in Rempublicam II 157. 24 Kroll.

14 τῷ σῷ Sc. οἴκῳ; cf. passages from grammarians cited by Böhlig, op. cit. 237, n. 1.

15 ἐξανελίττειν Not in lexica. Occurs again l. 23.

17 ἴυγγων Cf. note on previous letter l. 139.

ἐμουσουργήθην There is no trace in lexica of this use of μουσουργέω, (apparently here = 'enchant') which normally means 'to write poetry'. Prodromus is probably reinterpreting in the light of such words as θεουργός, ἱερουργός a word which he knows only from the literary tradition.

19 τὴν σὴν Ῥοδόπην κτλ.: Italicus had evidently given a rhetorical description or ἔκφρασις of his new diocese in the letter to which Prodromus replies. On such ἐκφράσεις τόπου in Byzantine epistolography cf. G. Karlsson, op. cit. 112—136. To the examples which Karlsson cites can be added the long ἔκφρασις of Mount Olympus in Bithynia in Eustathius ep. 73 CMPA (36. 1331—1332), which also appears in manuscritps attributed to Michael Psellus.

22 λειοκυμονοῦν The verb is cited by the lexica only from an interpolation in the Suda. But λειοκύμων occurs in Lucian, V. H. 2. 4 λειοκύμονος δὲ οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης; and substantivised neuter present participles in lieu of abstract nouns are a favourite devide of Byzantine 'Atticists'. Ps-Codinus later ventures on the form λειοκυμαίνω, if the editors are to be trusted. The ῥεῦμα will be the Maritza, the ancient Hebros.

24 ἀκανθεῶνες αἱρέσεων: It is not clear whether these are Paulicians or Bogomils or both. And Byzantine sources sometimes do not distinguish between them. On the presence of both in Philippopolis at this, time and later cf. D. Obolensky, The Bogomils, Cambridge 1948, 193—5, 232 et al., B. Primov, Bŭlgari gŭrtsi i latintsi v Plovdiv prez 1204—1205 g. Rolyáta na bogomilite, Izvestiya na Bŭlgarskoto Istorichesko Druzhestvo 22/24 (1948) 145—158. As we shall see, there is slight avidence in a later passage of this letter for Bogomil activities in Philippopolis at the time of the letter. ἀκανθεών is attested, in the literal sense, in Greg. Naz. MPG 37. 25 c.

25 τὸ πῦρ ἐπαφεῖναι In this somewhat confused imagery Prodromus is thinking in the main of the encounter between Elijah and the priests of Baal in III Reg. 18, in which Elijah succeeds in bringing fire down from heaven to set light to his sacrifice. For a moment another image that of the farmer burning scrub in order to bring land under cultivation, crosses the main image. A few lines lower, the image becomes one of a farmer irrigating his fields. But here too there is some confusion with the image of Elijah calling down the rain from heaven (III Reg. 18. 45).

30 τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς αἰσχύνης Cf. III Reg. 19 τοὺς προφητὰς τῆς αἰσχύνης. The reference is to the heretic leaders in Philippopolis.

30 ἐπαφήσει τὸ πῦρ ὁ σὸς Ἡλίου Cf. LXX III Reg. 18. 38 καὶ ἔπεσε πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κτλ. In his inaugural lecture Italicus refers to the then Patriarch as ὁ ἐμὸς Ἡλίου and ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἐλισσαῖος (cod. Bononiensis Bibl. Univ. 2412 fol. 77, cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 fol. 232-). Presumably ὁ σὸς Ἡλίου in the present passage refers to the Patriarch also.

31 *ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἐγείρῃ κτλ.* Cf. Joshua 4. 3—9. Why Prodromus refers to Joshua as *ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰησοῦς* is not clear.

33 *νεόφυτα ἐλαίου* Cf. LXX Ps. 127. 3 *οἱ υἱοί σου ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαίων κύκλῳ τῆς τραπέζης σου.*

34 *Παύλῳ τῷ σῷ καὶ ἐμῷ* Both had taught in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Orphanotropheion, the seat of a section of the Patriarchal school. This church was often referred to as *ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος*. The expression is common in the mouths of teachers in the Patriarchal school in the twelfth century.

35 *ὁ Καψορύμης* This individual makes one other appearance in the record of history. Balsamon in his commentary on the eleventh Canon of Synod of Carthage (Rhallis-Potlis, *Σύνταγμα Κανόνων* III, 321) states that a priest called *Καψορύμης* was excommunicated by Michael Italicus in Philippopolis, appealed to the Great Synod at Constantinople, and was restored to communion by it in the Patriarchate of Nicolaus IV Muzalon (1147—1151). Papadimitriu, Feodor Prodrom identified the *Καμψορύμης* of the present letter with this priest, but misinterpreted the passage of the letter which he quoted.

36 *ὁ τῆς ἀπωλειάς υἱός* cf. LXX Is. 57. 4 *οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστε τέκνα ἀπωλείας.*

37 *Καμψορύμης καὶ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι* This cannot mean, as Papadimitriu interprets it, 'K. is now here in Constantinople'. It must mean 'we have a K. here too', i. e. there is someone in Constantinople behaving in the same way as Kampsorhymes behaves in Philippopolis. Identification can only be speculative. But it is interesting to bear in mind that the monk Niphon was condemned in Constantinople on a charge of Bogomilism on 22nd February 1144, after having been held in a monastery since October 1143. His condemnation and excommunication, however, did not mean his disappearance from the society of the capital. For the Patriarch Cosmas Atticus was accused of complicity with him and deposed on 26th February 1147. Cf Obolensky, op. cit. 121 ff., who refers to the sources. He could therefore be said to be *περιερχόμενος ἅπαντας* before October 1143, or some time during the Patriarchate of Cosmas. The latter date would fit the present context better. For Michael Italicus cannot have been appointed to his diocese long, if at all, before October 1143 — he seems to have been still in Constantinople when John I Comnenus died — and the mention of Kampsorhymes suggests a date near to the Patriarchate of Nicolaus IV, when his case was finally settled. These considerations enable us to date the present letter tentatively to a date between April 1146, when Cosmas became patriarch, and February 1147, when he was deposed, and his protégé Niphon presumably disappeared with him. They also suggest that the occasion of Kampsorhymes' excommunication, which Balsamon does not mention, was undue sympathy towards Bogomilism in Philippopolis.

40 *πανσορύμης* Not attested elsewhere, and no doubt a spontaneous creation of Prodromus. There are no other compounds in *-ρυμης*. But the

formation is regular from *ῥύμη*; cf. *κόμη* and the numerous compounds in *-κόμης* (cf. Buck-Petersen, A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives, 1944, 6).

41 *εὖ σοι κτλ.* presumably conceals some kind of imprecation, in the optative, on the *ἀνθραπάριον* whom I am inclined to identify as Niphon. But the passage is too corrupt for emendation to be convincing.

41 *περὶ οὗ κτλ.* There follows a recommendation to Italicus of a friend of Prodromus, now in Philippopolis, for whom Prodromus had earlier requested Italicus' good offices.

45 *τοῦ Δορδανίτου* Unknown.

VII

AN UNPUBLISHED FUNERAL ORATION ON ANNA COMNENA

The Byzantinist has one advantage over the student of classical antiquity—unless the latter happens to be a papyrologist. With a little diligence and a minimum of good luck he can easily unearth unpublished texts and find himself producing an *editio princeps*. And however often one has turned over the leaves of a manuscript and laboriously read words which have remained unread for perhaps five centuries or more, it never loses its thrill. Yet one must admit that the advantage is less than it seems. The classical scholar's texts are usually worth reading from some point of view, while what the Byzantinist finds is so often empty rhetorical verbiage. Byzantine funeral orations are notorious for their lack of information on the life of the deceased. Yet they never tell us absolutely nothing if we read them alertly, and they are sometimes remarkably informative on the ideas and values of the times. When the subject is a major figure of medieval Greek literature about the details of whose life we are very much in the dark, even the most trifling addition to our knowledge is welcome. It is this thought which encourages me to present a hitherto unknown Byzantine writer of the middle of the twelfth century—George Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesus—and to dwell in particular on his funeral oration on Anna Comnena.

I shall try in my remarks to avoid involvement in technicalities of dating and prosopography which are of exclusively Byzantine interest. George Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesus, is in fact not a wholly unknown figure. Six of his letters were published by Spyridon Lampros in 1879 in his edition of the works of Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens, to whom he wrongly supposed these letters to be addressed. And the same scholar thirty-seven years later described in some detail the unique manuscript of Tornikes' works (*N.E.* 13, 1916, 13–22). His description has been superseded only in the last few months by that in the magnificent first volume of the new catalogue of the Vienna Greek manuscripts by Herbert Hunger. Yet the great reference works on Byzantine literature—those of Krumbacher and Beck—do not mention him. Historians of the period, like Chalandon and Paolo Lamma, pass him over in silence. And even the diligent Brockhoff, in his dissertation on the history of Ephesus in the Middle Ages (Jena, 1905), fails to list him among the bishops of that city. On the few occasions when he is mentioned, he is tacitly or explicitly identified with a namesake who was Professor of Rhetoric in the Patriarchal School in Constantinople at the end of the twelfth century. Indeed it is to this mistaken identity that we owe the publication of the six letters by Lampros more than eighty years ago.

The corpus of Tornikes' works survives in a single manuscript of the early fourteenth century, now in the National Library in Vienna, which is a treasure-house of unique twelfth-century texts, cod. Vindob. phil. graec. 321. The corpus comprises twenty-five letters to named and usually easily identifiable addressees, three *prooemia*

to inaugural or ceremonial lectures delivered by Tornikes at the Patriarchal School, a confession of faith made in connection with a well-known theological controversy in the middle fifties of the twelfth century, a letter drafted for the emperor Manuel I to Pope Alexander III, and a very long funeral oration on Anna Comnena, with which I am now principally concerned. None of these texts has been published except in trifling excerpts.

From his works one can gather something of Tornikes' life and career. On his father's side he belonged to a wealthy Macedonian or Thracian family, allegedly of Armenian origin, which in 1047 provided an unsuccessful claimant to the imperial throne. His mother was a niece of an archbishop of Bulgaria, perhaps of the great Theophylact. We hear of a brother named Leo, who was for a time in Athens, doubtless on government service, and of a cousin Euthymius, his special protégé, who held a junior appointment on the staff of the Patriarch. As such posts were generally the prelude to a distinguished ecclesiastical career, we may tentatively identify this Euthymius with Euthymius Tornikes, bishop of Patrae, who was expelled from his see by the Latins in 1204. This prelate was a nephew of Euthymius Malakes, bishop of Neae Patrae, theologian and scholar, and lifelong friend of Eustathius, for whom he composed a still surviving funeral oration. So George Tornikes may also have been related to Malakes and have known Eustathius as a young man.

We do not know when he was born, nor much about his early life, except that he was an intimate of Anna Comnena and her family during her long years of retirement from public life after the death of her father Alexius Comnenus in 1118. He seems to have been a member of the literary and scholarly circle gathered round her, of which I shall have more to say later. He probably also held junior teaching posts in the Patriarchal School. At any rate in 1146–7 we find him appointed διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτῆρος, the junior of the three Professors of Theology, and we have the proem to the inaugural lecture which he delivered on that occasion. Unfortunately, unlike many inaugural lectures of Byzantine teachers, it tells us nothing of Tornikes' earlier career, but consists largely of laudations of the Patriarch Cosmas II Atticus, to whom he owed his appointment. Some years later he became διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου and head of the Patriarchal School, and later still, but probably before the end of 1154, he was appointed ὑπομνηματογράφος, and so became responsible for drafting the official documents issued by the Patriarch. Literary skill and a command of rhetoric were essential qualifications for such a post in the twelfth century, just as they were indispensable to the corresponding official in the imperial service, the Keeper of the Inkstand (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου). At this point in his rapid career Tornikes could reasonably look forward to an archbishopric in the provinces; this was the usual reward of a successful career in the Patriarchal School or in the personal staff of the Patriarch. But he seems to have got on the wrong side in the complex ecclesiastical politics of the time, and we have a number of despondent letters from this period describing the hostility shown to him by the patriarchal entourage. In particular he was blamed for his continued loyalty to his former patron, the Patriarch Cosmas II Atticus, whose right to a Christian burial he stoutly defended when the former Patriarch was accused not only of showing undue sympathy towards members of the

imperial family then in disgrace, but also of being a crypto-Bogomil. The leader of the opposition to Tornikes at this time was his colleague Soterichus Panteugenes, with whom was associated his successor as Director of the Patriarchal School, Michael ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης. Tornikes got his revenge in time, when Panteugenes and Michael were condemned in one of the most celebrated heresy trials of the century. But in the meantime he suffered a setback. In due course, however, probably after a change of patriarchs in 1154, his chance came. He was put on the short list for the Archbishopric of Corinth—the vacancy was possibly due to the death of Gregory of Corinth, though the chronological problems are complex—but withdrew on the advice of a highly placed and no doubt well-informed friend. A little later, possibly in the second half of 1155, he was appointed Metropolitan of Ephesus. Like so many others who had spent their lives in the brilliant and sophisticated but narrow world of the capital, he found the transference to a position of high responsibility in the provinces a traumatic experience. His letters from Ephesus, like those of Michael Choniates from Athens, Michael Italicus from Philippopolis, Basil Pediadites from Corfu, are marked by self-pity and lack of sympathy towards the provincials. Captured by the Seljuks in 1090, recaptured by the Byzantines shortly afterwards, harried by pirates, particularly the notorious Čaqa, occupied by the Crusaders in 1147, Ephesus was but a shadow of its former self. We hear in Tornikes' letters of pieces of mosaic falling on the bishop's head as he officiated in the great church of St John the Theologian, around which the medieval town had grown up. Heresy was rife. The local population was ignorant and unfriendly. The Byzantine governor and his court were at Philadelphia, at the end of a long journey over the mountains. In several of his letters Tornikes talks of leaving his diocese and returning to the capital, but they cannot be readily dated. He was probably still in Ephesus in May 1157, and he may have remained there for years. In early summer 1166, however, we find him entrusted by Manuel I with the drafting of a reply to a letter from Pope Alexander III, in the course of negotiations of which we learn something in Boson's contemporary Life of that Pope. He must then have been in Constantinople, enjoying the closest confidence of the emperor. This is his last appearance on the stage of history. By February 1170 the Metropolitan of Ephesus is one Nicolaus.

So much for the man. Now to his funeral oration on Anna Comnena. I propose to say something first on the biographical information which it furnishes, then on the light it throws on the intellectual life of the period, but it will not be easy to keep the two themes clearly separate. But first of all a word on the construction of the speech. The overall pattern is that established in antiquity for a βασιλικὸς λόγος—προοίμιον, πατρίς, γένος, γένεσις, ἀνατροφή, παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις (classified under the four virtues), τύχη—the rules are most clearly formulated by Menander. But there is interference from a different genre, the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. The fact that the subject is a woman in any case strains the pattern of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. And Tornikes' verbosity, as well as his personal involvement, lead to an almost independent development of certain of the constituent parts. So the final result is not only very long—13,000 to 14,000 words, only slightly shorter than Isocrates' *Panathenaicus*—but also somewhat complex. Tornikes begins by apologizing for the delay in the delivery of his oration

and expressing his astonishment that no one else in Constantinople has delivered a monody on the princess, the subject being so unique. He then turns to the praise of her parents, Alexius I and Irene Ducas. Then come Anna's birth, upbringing and education, her appearance, her betrothal to Constantine Ducas and his untimely death. Then the account of her subsequent betrothal to Nicephorus Bryennius leads to a long digression on the virtues and exploits of the princess's husband. Next comes a long development on Anna's devotion to her mother and the lessons she learned from her. The theme of her care for her parents leads to the account of the death of her father, and the change which it brought about in Anna's circumstances. Her misfortunes and the constancy with which she met them are described with a wealth of literary imagery—the Homeric cormorant, the wimple of Leucothea, etc.—but little precision. Next comes an account of how she spent her enforced retirement in intellectual pursuits, and gathered about her a group of scholars whose work she inspired and directed, and of her own philosophical views—these are expounded at great length. Embedded in this section is an account of the deaths of her mother and her husband. Then Tornikes speaks of Anna's literary work, her letters—which do not seem to have survived—and her *History*. By a skilful transition—her wide technical competence, her knowledge of medicine, both theoretical and practical, her care of the sick, her care of her sister during her illness—he leads to the story of the princess's last illness, her taking of the veil, and her death. He concludes with a development on Anna's daughter—probably Irene, with whom he was in correspondence—and on the many groups and classes who will sincerely mourn her loss.

Anna Comnena was born in the Porphyry Chamber of the Great Palace at dawn on Saturday, 2 December 1083. The date of her death is unknown: probably after 1148 is the nearest one can get on the internal evidence of her *History*, and the narrative sources for the middle of the twelfth century say nothing about her. The new text gives a little more precision, but not much more. It was delivered, says the title, when Tornikes was still ὑπομνηματογράφος. This, as we have seen, gives a date before the beginning of 1156, and some years after 1147. Some time had elapsed, he says, since the princess's death. The impression conveyed to the reader is that he is thinking of months rather than years. I should be inclined to date Anna's death to the years 1153–5. Father J. Darrouzès informs me in a letter that he has independently reached the same conclusion. Perhaps we get some confirmation from a long passage in which the speaker compares Anna's relationship to the brilliant men of her age with that of a comet to the fixed stars. In both cases the novelty of the event attracts attention. Now Halley's comet put in one of its regular appearances in April 1145, and was visible from Constantinople; in February 1147 there was another comet, visible the world over; and finally in May 1155 a comet appeared, visible throughout Europe. I should like to think that men's eyes had been raised to it in wonderment just before our oration was delivered.

In any case, Anna must have been over seventy years of age, and have spent some thirty-five years in retirement in her apartments in the monastery τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης, when she died. She preserved to the last, says Tornikes, her rosy complexion. We might at this point glance at our author's description of the princess's appearance, the only one to survive, and one of the few eye-witness descriptions of living persons in Byzantine literature (see Appendix, extract 1).

Anna's own account of her education is celebrated (*Alexiad*, Pr. 2; 15, 7 *fin.*). And she continually thanks her parents for having taken such care over it. The story we find in the oration is slightly different, and perhaps more interesting. Anna was trained by her parents in virtue, but not in λόγοι. They did not object to her studying philosophy, which could be safely christianized and in any case tended to moral improvement, but they were strongly opposed to her studying its essential forerunner, grammar, which could not be christianized and was morally neutral to say the least of it. It was dangerous enough for men, far more so for women—and let us remember that Anna was no more than thirteen years old at this time. However, the princess outwitted the vigilance of her parents by taking private lessons in γραμματική from one of the palace eunuchs, like a maiden having a clandestine assignation with her lover (see Appendix, extract 2). Later, after her marriage to Nicephorus Bryennius, she continued her education openly, studying grammar under a palace eunuch—apparently a different one this time—and philosophy under philosophers who combined eloquence, a philosophical ethos, and old age. The final stage in her education was after her father's death and her own retirement from public life, when she gathered around her some of the most learned men of her time, and with them studied Aristotle, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy—except such of his doctrines as Christianity rejects—rhetoric and history.

Anna Comnena is eloquent on her woes in her *History*, but she never makes it clear exactly what they were. We know from other sources that she spent the latter part of her life, after the death of her father, in the convent τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης in Constantinople in semi-retirement, though of course she did not actually become a nun until she was on her death-bed—a fact which we learn from the present oration. The chronicler John Zonaras, whose history ends with the year 1118, tells us in some detail how Anna, who hated her younger brother John II, and still hoped to place the imperial crown on the head of her able, but good-natured and unambitious, husband Nicephorus Bryennius, quarrelled bitterly with her brother over their father's death-bed, and was the prime mover in a plot to assassinate him shortly after his accession (Zonaras, 18, 28–9). The same story is told by Nicetas Choniates, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century. If true, it would be sufficient explanation of the obscurity in which the rest of Anna's life was passed. Anna's own account of the death of her father gives an idyllic picture of a united family, though she does mention that John went off to the Great Palace before their father had breathed his last. And Anna's striking coldness towards her brother, whom she scarcely mentions in her *History*, has often attracted attention. Zonaras' story cannot be dated, unfortunately. We know that he was still alive and working on his great compilation of Canon Law in 1159, but his Chronicle may have been completed long before that. What does Tornikes, an intimate friend of the family, have to say? He was clearly aware of an account of the events discreditable to Anna, and implies that it had obtained wide credence, though of course he somewhat baldly denies it (see Appendix, extract 3).

The probability is that he had the text of Zonaras before him. This is not a very convincing defence of Anna, but then perhaps a funeral oration was not the place for polemical discussion of the events of more than a generation before.

Anna's nephew Manuel I, whom she perhaps scarcely knew, seems to have done nothing after his accession in 1143 to heal the breach with his formidable sexagenarian aunt. He gets a single brief and cold mention in this speech. In any case Anna and Manuel would never have seen eye to eye. Manuel was a Latinophile and a womanizer, and he was an enthusiastic believer in astrology, a science in defence of which he wrote a treatise. The condemnation of astrology which Tornikes in the present speech attributes to Anna may well have been directed mainly at her brilliant but erratic imperial nephew. So far as it is possible to date Manuel's defence of astrology, it is certainly later than 1147, and was probably written not long before 1156.

When death finally came to the princess as she was engaged in consoling one of her sisters—we do not know which—after a recent bereavement, she had been cut off from the sophisticated world of the court for thirty-five years. But she had not been out of contact with the intellectual movement of the time. It was in the closing years of her retirement, as we know, that she composed the history of her father's reign. The present oration furnishes precious information on another of her activities, her philosophical circle. Let us look once again at the passage in question (see Appendix, extract 4). It seems that Anna not only studied herself—a procedure which would involve lectures or supervisions by specialists—but also organized and inspired, and no doubt paid for, the work of others. In particular we hear of the encouragement of Aristotelian commentators, and especially of the exegesis of works on which no commentary had survived from antiquity. And the name of Michael of Ephesus is mentioned as one who engaged in these activities under Anna's patronage.

Now the long series of commentaries on the works of Aristotle, which begins in the first century B.C. with Andronikos, the rediscoverer of the Aristotelian corpus, continues without a significant break down to Stephanus of Alexandria and his pupils David and Elias in the seventh century. Then, with the loss to the Arabs of the school of Alexandria, the tradition seems to dry up. John Damascene in the eighth century was profoundly influenced by Aristotle and his commentators, but by his time it had become a closed body of thought; there was no further exegesis or development. Surprisingly, exegesis of Aristotle begins again in the eleventh or twelfth century with two men whose work survives, Eustratius, Metropolitan of Nicaea, and Michael of Ephesus. The former commented upon certain books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and sections of the *Organon*, the latter on other books of the *Ethics*, sections of the *Organon*, the *Rhetoric*, the *Physics*, the *Politics*, and a number of the zoological and anthropological works. Eustratius is a well-known figure, a pupil of John Italus, who made a brilliant career in the Church, wrote many works of dogmatic and polemical theology, took part in the discussions with Petrus Chrysolanus in 1112, and found himself charged with heresy in 1117 as a result of an anti-Armenian tract which he had composed. He recanted, but was probably suspended for life. We do not know when he died. The date cited in the handbooks, *c.* 1120, is the result of a somewhat

labile construction by Draeseke.[1] The date of his birth is equally unknown; it could be as late as 1060. As for Michael of Ephesus, nothing at all is known of his life, and up to now all that could be done by way of dating him was eleventh/twelfth century. Tatakis in his recent book on Byzantine philosophy supposes Michael to be a contemporary of John Italus and a predecessor of Eustratius.

The present text fills out the picture in much more detail. Michael of Ephesus' commentaries belong to the years of Anna's retirement after 1118. And they were probably completed by 1138, since after that year Anna was mainly engaged in the composition of her *History*, originally intended as a sequel to that written by her late husband. Karl Praechter in a well-known paper (*G.G.A.* 168, 1906, 861) remarks that anyone looking at the list of works of Aristotle commented upon in late antiquity or early Byzantine times is struck by three gaps—the *Politics*, the *Rhetoric*, and the zoological and anthropological works. Eight hundred years before Praechter wrote these words, the same point seems to have struck Anna Comnena, who had the resources and the connections to remedy the shortcoming. Michael of Ephesus was breaking entirely new ground in his commentaries on the zoological and anthropological works and on the *Rhetoric* and the *Politics*. And he was doing it as part of a co-operative scholarly undertaking conceived and guided by Anna Comnena. The list of his own commentaries which he gives illustrates how systematically the plan of Anna or of her advisers was being carried out.[2]

What of Eustratius? In her *History* Anna speaks of him with high praise (14, 8). In the proem to his commentary on *E.N.* I he tells us that it was composed at the behest of a highly placed personage whom he does not name. And in the proem to that on *E.N.* VI he addresses his patron as βασιλὶς θεοσεβής, βασιλὶς φιλόλογε, βασιλὶς φιλάγαθε καὶ φιλόκαλε. So far as I can discover, the identity of this princess—the word need not mean the wife of a reigning emperor in Byzantine usage—has never been cleared up. It is very tempting, and an obvious working hypothesis, to suppose that she was Anna Comnena, and that Eustratius' exegetical work belongs to the years of his theological disgrace. In the commentary on *E.N.* VI, he speaks of himself as an old man, for what that is worth. And it is significant that he was apparently asked to comment only on *E.N.* I and VI, while the other books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* were commented on by Michael of Ephesus and possibly by a nebulous Aspasius—there is some variation in the titles in the manuscripts. No part of the *Ethics* was the object of comment by more than one of these scholars. This suggests that their commentaries were all prepared as part of the same co-operative enterprise. It may well be that Eustratius was the real inspirer of the whole project.

If some measure of probability can be accorded to our hypotheses thus far, Anna Comnena played a key role in the revival of Aristotelian scholarship in the Byzantine world. It has long been a commonplace that the renaissance of Aristotelian exegesis depended ultimately on the renewed interest in and grasp of the ancient philosophical tradition displayed by men like Michael Psellus and John Italus in the eleventh century. But this remains a vague formulation. The tendency of Psellus and John Italus was Platonist or Neoplatonist rather than Aristotelian. The detailed connection and

[1] *B.Z.* v (1896), 319–36.

[2] *C.G.A.* XXII, 149, 8 ff.

organizational link is missing. The more one examines Byzantine literature, the more one becomes convinced that it never appears spontaneously; it needs a salon, patronage, institutionalized forms. We know of some of the literary circles of the earlier twelfth century. The Patriarchal School housed one such circle, whose interests, theology apart, lay in the fields of grammar, rhetoric and belles-lettres; Michael Italicus is one of its leading figures. Another centred upon the sebastocratorissa Irene, widow of Manuel's elder brother Andronicus. Poetry was one of its main interests; innumerable occasional poems of Theodore Prodromus can be connected with it; Tzetzes commented on Hesiod and Homer and wrote his *Theogony* for Irene; and she was the patroness and dedicatee of Constantine Manasses' verse chronicle. We can now add to these Anna Comnena's philosophical circle, numbering among its members Michael of Ephesus and probably Eustratius of Nicaea. It is worth recalling in this connection that it was in Constantinople in the thirties of the twelfth century that James of Venice became acquainted with the *Physics*, the *Sophistici elenchi*, and other works of Aristotle, which he subsequently translated into Latin.[1] It has been assumed that he found them studied in the University. But we must now reckon with the possibility that he had contact with Anna Comnena's Aristotelian circle. It may be significant that the *Sophistici elenchi*, one of the works translated by James of Venice, was first commented upon by Michael of Ephesus. It may well be, too, that other works of philosophical and mathematical exegesis will prove to have been composed under Anna's watchful eye in the suite in the Κεχαριτωμένη convent, at the head of a valley overlooking the tranquil waters of the Golden Horn. One would look in the first place among the nameless Byzantine scholiasts on Euclid and Ptolemy, who continued the tradition of Proclus and Simplicius. John Tzetzes' unpublished commentary on the *Canons* of Ptolemy, in cod. Paris. gr. 2162, was probably composed too late to qualify, but one cannot be certain.

In so far as one can attach political labels to such things, Anna Comnena's circle belonged to the 'outs'. She herself was in semi-disgrace to the end of her days; Tornikes' complaint that no one but himself had thought of commemorating her death bears this out. Eustratius was a man whose career was finished; the Patriarch Cosmas II Atticus, who promoted Tornikes, and whom Tornikes defended after his death, was dismissed after just over a year in office, charged not only with Bogomil sympathies, but also with supporting Manuel's disgruntled relatives.

From time to time in her history Anna mentions this or that point of philosophy. However, the long account of her tenets given by George Tornikes provides a more comprehensive view than we can derive from the *History*. I shall outline the main points briefly, as they are not of much importance in themselves. Anna may not have really had much of a head for philosophy, Tornikes was probably no philosopher, and I am certainly quite incompetent in this sphere. Anna sees as her task to fit the tradition of ancient philosophy to the requirements of Christian dogma. The series of syntheses which had been made in the past no longer satisfy her entirely. And the tradition of ancient philosophy means to her, as to all Byzantines, Aristotle and Plato, both seen through the spectacles of commentators of late antiquity, who were either

[1] Cf. L. Minio-Paluello, *Traditio*, VIII (1952), 265–304.

pagan Neoplatonists like Simplicius, or Aristotelian heretics like John Philoponus. In general, she says, she finds Aristotle most satisfying. But she objects to his ἀγενησία (significantly the word seems first attested in Simplicius), that is, to an uncreated universe which leaves no room for providence and in which everything must be αὐτόματον. This is precisely the point in dispute between the schools of Athens and Alexandria in the early sixth century, which led John Philoponus in 529 to publish his *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*. To avoid this difficulty she accepted Plato's δημιουργός; but she rejected totally τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδεῶν μηχάνημα, the Aristotelian criticism of which she regarded as valid. She admired Plato and his followers, the Neoplatonists, and approved many of their doctrines, such as that of the ἀνούσιον ἀγαθόν, but preferred Christian explanations of such matters, particularly those of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. However, she borrowed from the *Timaeus* the circles of the other and the same—men had been confusing themselves by interpreting the *Timaeus* literally for a millennium—and she accepted Plato's doctrine of the divisions of the soul, but of course rejected his metempsychosis. From Aristotle she borrowed the concept of entelechy. She favoured a διττὴ ἐντελέχεια in regard to the soul—this points to her familiarity with the second book of the *De anima*—and she frequently illustrated this by the analogies of the lyre-player and the steersman. This leads to another passage of the *De anima* which, unfortunately for Anna, modern authorities generally regard as a momentary lapse on the part of Aristotle. But John Philoponus in his commentary took it seriously, and the word for steersman used by Tornikes is Philoponus' and not Aristotle's. And both the topic and the imagery alike figure in the surviving writings of Michael Psellus and John Italus. Above all, she was determined to find a physics and metaphysics which would not destroy the basis of ethics, and this to Anna meant an after-life in which our actions are judged, rewarded, and punished. Belief in destiny—εἱμαρμένη—was to her something worthy of beasts rather than men. It is significant that it was precisely the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* which were neglected in the orthodox Christian–Aristotelian synthesis represented by Leontius of Byzantium and John Damascene.

I doubt if much can be made of Tornikes' garbled and rhetorical account. But it is clear that Anna and her colleagues were bent on constructing a philosophical system, and not merely on glossing texts. They were not alone in this in the twelfth century. Michael Anchialus, the future Patriarch, was appointed Professor of Philosophy—ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων—about 1165, after the office had apparently been in abeyance for some time. In his inaugural lecture, which I have edited elsewhere,[1] he lays great emphasis upon the study of Aristotle and upon the support which a somewhat eclectic Aristotelianism can give to religion. He attacks at great length the followers of pagan theology, who believed matter to be uncreated. This is just the point which gave offence to Anna. And it is also, we recall, one of the charges made in 1082 against John Italus, who was also accused of reviving the errors of ancient philosophers on the nature of the soul, and of regarding profane literature as a fountain of truth. In 1156 Soterichus Panteugenes, whom we have already met briefly as an enemy of Tornikes, was condemned, together with a number of leading men of letters and teachers in the

[1] *Balkan Studies* (Thessalonika), II (1961), 173–214.

Patriarchal School, for heretical interpretation of the liturgy of the Eucharist. Nicolaus of Methone, the leading theologian of the age, expressly connected the heresy of Panteugenes with the Platonic doctrine of ideas, which, he declared, had been refuted by Aristotle. And Nicolaus was no novice in philosophy. He wrote, probably before 1156, an ἀνάπτυξις τῆς θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου, in which he says that he is arguing against men of his own age, who call themselves Christians, but who are befuddled by pagan learning, and so ἐπίπροσθεν τῶν οἰκείων τίθενται τὰ ἀλλότρια. It has been plausibly suggested, too, that Michael Glycas the chronicler, whose heretical doctrines began to attract attention early in the reign of Manuel I, was trying to construct a systematic cosmology of neoplatonizing character.

System-building was not the monopoly of hellenizers and heretics at this time. Euthymius Zigabenus wrote his *Dogmatic Panoply* and Nicetas Acominatus his *Treasury of Orthodoxy* to combat the rationalist heresies so attractive to the twelfth-century mind. Neilus Doxopatres, an exalted functionary on the patriarchal staff, who became a monk and went off to Norman Sicily shortly before 1143, composed a great dogmatic *summa*, on a scale quite unprecedented in the Byzantine world. It was in five books, of which only the first two—comprising between them 466 chapters—survive unpublished.

In a book written seventy years ago[1] Fyodor Uspenskij argued that throughout the twelfth century a long argument went on between Nominalists and Realists in the Byzantine world, parallel to and not unconnected with that going on at the same time in the Latin world. By and large the Nominalists lean on Plato, the Realists on Aristotle.

We need a new study of the ground covered by Uspenskij seventy years ago. The time is scarcely ripe yet. Too many of the relevant texts still slumber unread in the dust of libraries. But we can begin to see why the tradition of Aristotelian exegesis was taken up again so vigorously after a lapse of nearly four centuries. And this unpromising-looking funeral oration gives a glimpse of the commentators at their work. To be quite fair, Anna Comnena and her circle were probably not quite the first to revive the tradition. Theodore of Smyrna, successor of John Italus as ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, who survived until the closing years of Alexius I's reign, if not longer, and who appears among the intelligentsia of the underworld in that lively Byzantine satire the *Timarion*, had composed an exposition of the physical doctrines of the ancients, in which he seems to have dealt with Aristotle at some length. His work is unpublished. But this was only a small beginning. Without the resources at Anna's command the movement might well have petered out. In fact more than a century and a half elapsed before the next great 'wave' of Aristotelian commentaries in Byzantium. We clearly owe much to the drive and inspiration of this astonishing lady, whose memory is enshrined not only in the immortal history of her father's reign, but also in the austere volumes of the *Commentaria Graeca in Aristotelem*.

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[1] F. Uspenskij, *Ocherki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti* (St Petersburg, 1891 [1892]), pp. 146–245.

APPENDIX

1. Ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μεγέθους ὑπαυγάζοντες χαροπόν, οὐ περιφερόμενοι καὶ περιδονούμενοι, ψυχῆς ἀστατούσης καὶ ῥεμβώδους σύμβολα, οὐδὲ στάσιμοι πέραν τοῦ μετρίου καὶ νωθελεῖς, νωθροτέρας ἕξεως σήμαντρα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ γοργοῦ καὶ εὐστρόφου ὁπότε δέοι κινήματος, τὸ πλέον ἑστῶτες καὶ βεβηκότες. ὀφρύες ὡς τόξον ἴριδος, ῥῖς εὐθεῖα μικρὸν ὑποκυρτουμένη περὶ τῷ χείλει, βραχὺ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ σύμμετρα ὑπανέχουσα, χείλη καθάπερ ῥόδου κάλυκες συμπτυσσόμενα, καὶ ὡς σπαρτίον κατὰ τὴν ᾀσματίζουσαν κόκκινον, πάντα λευκὰ ὡσεὶ ἔριον. ὄχθους δὲ τῶν μήλων ἐφοίνισσε ῥοδόχρουν ἐρύθημα, ὃ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ γῆρας τὰς παρειὰς ἔχρωζε. τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν ὡς ἐκ περίγρας περιηγμένον εὔκυκλον εὔτορνον. κεφαλὴ τραχήλῳ εὐμηκεῖ ἐπὶ σπονδύλοις εὐπαγής. ὦμοι καὶ εὐτάκτως παλλόμενοι ἐλαφροὶ πόδες καὶ χεῖρες ὕπερθεν, ξύμπαντα μέλη καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ καλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα. ὡς λύρα τις ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ σῶμα ἢ ὡς κιθάρα συνηρμοσμένη, ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς ἀγαθὸν τεκτονηθὲν ὄργανον (fol. 25 r).

2. Τήν γε μὴν θύραθεν παιδείαν ὑπώπτευον ὡς ἐπίβουλον, καθάπερ αἱ σοφαὶ τεκνοτρόφοι μητέρες τὰς προμνηστρίας ὑφορῶσι πολλάκις, ἵνα μὴ ταῖς παρθένοις ἔρωτας ἀσέμνους ἐντέκωσι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐν λογικαῖς μεθόδοις περίνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἀγχίστροφον ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μυστηρίων τὴν ἐς τοὐμφανὲς ἀνακάλυψιν, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρώτου κινήσαντος δημιουργίαν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ὡς παρὰ θεοῦ αὐτοῖς ἀποκαλυφθέντα καὶ τεθαυμάκασι καὶ ἠσπάσαντο. τήν γε μὴν προτρέχουσαν τούτων γραμματικήν, ἧς τὸ κράτιστον μέρος ἡ ποίησις, ἧς τὸ πολύθεον εἴτ' οὖν ἄθεον καὶ μῦθοι τὸ γνώρισμα, οἳ θεοὺς πλάττουσι ἐρῶντας δυσέρωτας ἔρωτας, καὶ παρθένων φθορὰς καὶ ἀρρένων ἁρπαγὰς καὶ ἄλλην ἀριστουργίαν ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πολὺ τὸ ἄσημον ἔχουσαν, ταύτην μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσι μὲν ἐπικίνδυνον, γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ παρθένοις καὶ λίαν ἐπίβουλον καλῶς νενομίκασιν, ὧν τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς παρθενεύειν χρῆναι κεκρίκασι· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ εἰς ψυχὴν οἱ ἔρωτες καταρρέουσι.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι βασιλικῶς καὶ κατὰ Χριστὸν τῷ ὄντι διανοούμενοι· ἡ δὲ—ἦν γὰρ συνετῶς ἀκροωμένη τῶν ὁσήμεραι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ βασιλεῖ τῆς σοφίας ποιουμένων τὴν ἔνδειξιν, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ζῆλον ἠρέθιστο—τί ποιεῖ; ᾔδει μὲν περὶ τῆς θύραθεν σοφίας τῶν τεκόντων τὴν κρίσιν καὶ ταύτην ἔστεργεν, ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ λόχους τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμαθόντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἔχοντες στείλασθαι τῶν λοχώντων κατατολμῶσιν εὖ μάλα καθοπλισάμενοι καὶ γενναίως ἀντισχεῖν τε καὶ διασχεῖν ἑαυτοὺς παρασκευασάμενοι, οὕτω δὴ κἀκείνη πρὸς ὕπουλον μυθοπλαστίαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀσέμνων ἐρώτων περιήγησιν ἀνθοπλισαμένη, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ]νωοκ.α τὸ χαυνούμενον ἦ μὴν μὴ παρακλαπῆναι μηδὲ παρασυρῆναι, μὴ τῷ τῆς Κίρκης κυκεῶνι, μὴ τοῖς τῶν Σειρήνων μέλεσι, λόγῳ τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ κλείουσα καὶ ἀνοίγουσα καὶ πορευομένη μετὰ τοῦ μώλυος, κατετόλμα γραμματικῆς καὶ ποιήσεως, τὸ μὲν μὴ γνωσθῆναι τοῖς τεκοῦσι προμηθουμένη, ὑπὸ σεμνότητος δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ ἀπαιδεύτῳ τῶν θεραπόντων εὐνούχων τὴν μάθησιν παρακλέπτουσα, καθάπερ παρθένος διά τινων ὀπῶν τὸν νυμφίον λαθραίοις ὄμμασι βλέπουσα, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη λάθρα τῇ ποθουμένῃ γραμματικῇ συνεγίνετο (fol. 24 v).

3. Ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκείνου καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτι πνέοντος τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς ἀναζώννυται καὶ ἀπήει πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἐχρῆν, ἐπείπερ ὀξὺς ὁ καιρὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀθρόον ἐπίβουλοι τοῖς κληρονόμοις, εἴ πού τι μικρὸν παραμελήσαιεν, ἀνεγείρονται. ἡ δὲ λεγομένη τοῖς πάντα ῥᾳδίως λέγουσι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντίζηλος καὶ τὸ πρὸ μικροῦ τὸν πατέρα καταμαθοῦσα τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπανιστάμενον μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλελησμένοι ὀνόματος τῇ δεσποίνῃ καὶ μητρὶ συνεπένθουν, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἀντὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα, ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς ἑταιρείας τῶν πολλῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ἀνδρικῶν δορυφόρων, μόνοι τότε περιεκάθηντο· τῷ γὰρ νέῳ βασιλεῖ τὸ συγγενὲς ἅπαν συναπῆλθε καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον (fol. 27v).

4. Πάντας τοίνυν συναγαγοῦσα λογικῶν ἐπιστημῶν παρεξάρχοντας—πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ θαυμαστοί, τῶν γὰρ Ἀλεξίου χρόνων ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο κατόρθωμα τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς περὶ λόγους παιδοτριβοῦντος γυμνάσμασι καὶ βασιλικαῖς τιμῶντος τοὺς εὐδοκίμους καὶ δωρεαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς· ἐξ ὧν ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτω καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αἱ ἐπιδόσεις· οὓς μὲν φιλοσόφους καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αἵρεσιν, τοῦτο τέλος θεμένους ἑαυτοῖς σκοπιμώτατον, οὐ χρηματίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐμπορεύεσθαι, οὐ τιμήν, οὐκ ἀργύριον, συνάγειν δὲ γνῶσιν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων καὶ διασπείρειν αὖθις ταῖς τῶν θελόντων ψυχαῖς, ἀκόμψοις ῥήμασι μέγαν νοῦν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς κατέχοντας, οὓς καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἅμα καὶ φιλοσόφους καὶ γλώσσης περιτράνους, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν κομψευομένους καὶ σοφιστεύοντας, καὶ λαμπροὺς τά τ' ἔνδον τοῦ λόγου τά τ' ἔξω ῥέοντα—ὑπὸ τούτοις ἐτελεῖτο τότε τὰ Σταγειρίτου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν Εὐκλείδου καὶ Πτολεμαίου ὅσα μὴ νόμοις Χριστιανῶν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐξορίζεται, οὐδὲ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν ἀποβαλλομένη ῥητορικήν, οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας χρήσιμον ἀτιμάζουσα, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἐργασίαι τοῖς ῥήτορσι καὶ τὸ πλέον τῆς πιθανότητος. μετὰ γάρ τοι ποιήσεως ἀεὶ συνεβίωσκε, καὶ τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ κωμῳδίᾳ συνεθρήνει συχνὰ καὶ συνέπαιζε, τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας πόνον ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀνέσεσιν ἀναψυχοῦσα, ἃ μὲν γὰρ γελῶσα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἃ δὲ πενθοῦσα καὶ ταλανίζουσα, καὶ τὸν Δημοκρίτειον μὲν ἐπαινοῦσα γέλωτα, θαυμάζουσα δ' οὐχ ἧττον καὶ τὸ Ἡρακλείτειον δάκρυον.

τεκμήριον τοῦ ταύτης φιλομαθοῦς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκπεφωνημένα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν φιλοσόφων πονήματα, ἐφ' οἷς τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μέχρι ἐκείνης ὑπομνηματισμοὶ μὴ συνεγράφησαν ἐξηγήσεων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀκροάσεως ἡ τούτων σαφήνεια διεδίδοτο παντοία οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς οὐδ' οὕτω φιλότιμος. λόγων γὰρ ἄσυλον ταμιεῖον αἱ βίβλοι, καὶ νοημάτων ἀκαθαίρετα μνημεῖα τὰ γράμματα, ἀκοῇ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ λήθῃ καθάπερ κλέπταις σεσύληται. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἐφεσίων ἠκηκόειν σοφοῦ ταύτῃ τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀβλεψίας τὴν αἰτίαν προσεπιρρίπτοντος, ὅτι παννύχοις σχολάσειεν ἀυπνίαις ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀριστοτελείων κελευούσης αὐτῆς ἐξηγήσεσιν, ὅθεν τὰ †ἐλλύχνια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ ξηρασίαν παθήματα (fol. 29v).

VIII

AN UNPUBLISHED CORPUS OF BYZANTINE POEMS

I

Cod. Oxon. Barocci 50 has often attracted the attention of scholars in the course of the last century and a half (1). Intact, except for a few leaves lost in the middle, written throughout in the same hand, except for some trivial later additions, it is the unique witness to many texts — e.g. the *Canons* of Theognostus, the *Orthography* of Choeroboscus, the *Ἐκλογαί* which were a source of the Etymologica compiled by Photius and his circle — and the oldest witness to others — e.g. Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, the *Fables* of Aphthonius (2).

(1) The following bibliography, probably not complete, includes the most important references at any rate: J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia* ii, 1835, iii-iv, 1-487; A. Ludwich, *Die homerische Batrachomyomachia*, 1896, 51; Id., *De codicibus Batrachomyomachiae dissertatio, Index Lectionum in Regia Academia Albertina per hiemem anni 1894-95*, 1894, 10; Id., *Über die Handschriften des Musaios, Index lect. aestiv. Königsberg*, 1896; Id., *Musaios, Hero und Leandros*², 1929, 8-9; Id., *Scholia graeca in Musaei carmen*, 1893, 1-8; *Theognis*, ed. D. C. C. Young, 1961, 17; R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*, 1897, 8-9, 106-211; J. Sajdak, *Anonymi Oxoniensis lexicon in orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni, Symbolae grammaticae in honorem I. Rozwadowski*, 1927, 153-177; F. Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz*, Diss. Bonn, 1958, 132-133; E. Piccolomini, *Scolii alle orazioni di Gregorio Nazianzeno. Estratti inediti dei codici greci della Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Annali delle Università Toscane* XVI, i, 1879, xxii, n. 1; H. A. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum mss. Bibliothecae Bodleianae* I, 1853, 70-78; R. Schneider, *Bodleiana*, 1887, 4-20.

(2) The latest editor of the *Fables*, A. Hausrath, still bases his text on manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centu-

Earlier scholars generally dated it in the eleventh century (1), but more recently it has been recognised as a product of the first half of the tenth century (2). The hand has not been identified. The carefully-formed hooks on upright strokes and upward-pointing serifs on the -σ- are characteristic of early minuscule. The slight inclination to the left seems to occur most frequently in dated manuscripts of the ninth or early tenth century. The peculiar 'ace-of-spades' ligature for -ερ- with its tip inclined to the right, which is one of the most striking features of this hand, is most readily paralleled in cod. Cryptoferrat. D. g. 12 of 970 (Lake 337). Reitzenstein (p. 8) compared the hand with that of Arethas' copyist Baanes, and Leopold Cohn (*ibid.*) with that of the manuscripts of the *Etymologicum genuinum*. Among dated manuscripts cod. Laur. S. Marc. 687 of 943 (Lake 364), cod. Vat. gr. 1591 of 964 (Lake 263), cod. Paris gr. 1470 of 890 (Lake 134) and cod. Paris 492 of 942 (Lake 138) show strong resemblances in structure to the hand of our manuscript, though the details of style are different.

The contents of the manuscript fall into two main sections. The first, fol. 1-321ᵛ, is almost exclusively grammatical and lexicographical. Its latest items are the Ἐκλογαί discussed by Reitzenstein, which must have been compiled between the publication of the Patriarch Nicephorus' *History* (c. 815) and the composition of the Photian Etymologica, and the *Canons* of Theognostus, dedicated to Leo V (813-820). The whole section seems to be a copy of, or an extract from, a collection of grammatical and lexicographical works made in Constantinople in the second quarter of the ninth century.

ries, and seems to be unaware of the existence of the Oxford manuscript. Cf. *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, ed. A. Hausrath, 2nd ed., vol. I, 1957, xxi-xxii.

(1) So Cramer, Sajdak and others; A. Ludwich, *Die homerische Batrachomyomachia*, 1896, 57, attributes it to the tenth or eleventh century.

(2) R. Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, 165 dated it in the tenth century; D. C. C. Young, *op. cit.*, puts it in the earlier part of that century; in a note attached to the manuscript P. Maas records his opinion that it belongs to the early tenth century.

The names of Leo the Mathematician and Kometas the grammarian spring to the mind, but we really do not know by whom or in what circles this collection was compiled. The second section, fol. 322-386ᵛ, is of more mixed content — Musaeus, collections of apophthegms, zoological excerpts, the Batrachomyomachia, letters of Philostratus and Libanius, Pseudo-Phocylides, pagan prophecies of Christianity, the forty fables of Aphthonius, a collection of iambic poems, mostly on religious subjects, and as a pagefiller Theophylact Simocatta *ep.* 3.

Form and content alike suggest that the manuscript is a product of the scholarly circles in Constantinople of the two generations after Photius, who did so much to revive knowledge of and interest in classical literature. The outward appearance of the manuscript, and the arrangement of text in careful minuscule and marginalia in small uncials, recall that of the codices copied for Arethas of Caesarea, though the Oxford manuscript is of smaller format than any of Arethas's books.

The poems on fol. 381-386ᵛ have never been edited, and indeed seem to be unknown to students of Byzantine poetry. They are not without literary and linguistic interest. And they differ so much in subject-matter and style from the rest of the manuscript that their presence in it can only be explained by personal motives. They can scarcely be the work of the copyist of our manuscript or his patron, as the marginal commentary suggests conjectural emendations. They must have stood in our copyist's exemplar. Perhaps they were composed by a friend or teacher of the copyist of an ancestor of our manuscript. They cannot be precisely dated. But, as will be shown in the commentary, they belong to the period after the restoration of orthodoxy in 842, and one, the second last, fits most easily in the period of Byzantine expansion in Southern Italy, at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century. Language, style and metre do not differ significantly between one poem and another, and the most economical assumption is that they are all the work of a single poet, writing about 900. It was in the hope of identifying this poet and so contributing to our knowledge of Byzantine literature in the age of Arethas that I first began

to study these poems in a seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London in 1962-63. We were unable to make an identification. But we found that the poems raised a number of questions of interest, and decided to edit them. Perhaps others will perceive what we have missed.

II

The subject-matter of all the poems is religious. With a few exceptions they are epigrams on icons, a genre cultivated since the end of the fourth century, and well represented in the first book of the *Greek Anthology*. Such poems are usually not descriptions, in the manner of the classical poetic *ἔκφρασις*, but either prayers, encomia, or dogmatic expositions. All three varieties are represented in the present collection. Dogmatic motifs are developed at unusual length and in unusual detail in two of the poems addressed to St Gregory of Nazianzus (Nos 14 and 16). Three of the poems have no connection with an icon: No. 24 *Εἰς ἀσκήτην ἐν σπηλαίῳ*, No. 28 *Ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρνάβα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβας τις μοναχὸς ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς χώρας παροικήσας ἐκεῖσε*, and No. 24 *Εἰς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα παῖς ἐπιγράφων*. The only personal names, other than those of saints, which occur are Barnabas, the monk by whom or in whose name No. 28 was written, Basileios, dedicator(?) of the icon referred to in No. 23, and Sabas, the father whose epitaph forms No. 28. Nothing can be inferred from these, as a Byzantine occasional poet often composed poems in the name of a patron. But Barnabas would be a possible monastic name for one whose baptismal name was Basil.

III

The language of the poems is basically Byzantine literary Greek. There are a certain number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* or apparent neologisms, though far fewer than one would find in, say, the same number of lines by Theodore Prodromus, and they are in the main correctly formed. A striking

feature is the occasional use of demotic or non-literary words and forms where the literary Greek equivalents are metrically inconvenient: they are here listed for convenience, and will be discussed separately in the commentary: 7.3 *οὗτον*, 9.6 *μητέραν*, 14.51 *εὔγνωμον*, 16.20 *ἄγγελον μέγα*, 16.24 *σάρκαν*, 16.25 *καρτερηκότα*, 16.27 *ἐκπηδηκότα*, 16.29 *ἐνθρονικότα*, 16.39 *τὸν μέγα*, 16.40 *προῖκαν*, 22.1 *οὗτο*, 28.17 *παρακαλεσμοῦ*, 29.3 *μέσον*. To these should be added *τεσσαράκοντας* in 26. tit., if it is not rather to be attributed to a lapse on the part of the copyist.

The syntax is classicising in the main. *Εἰς* c. acc. in place of *ἐν* c. dat. occurs 1.4, 13.2 etc.; and there is probably a nominative absolute in 5.1. Lack of skill leads our poet occasionally to construct abnormally awkward sentences, in which words closely connected syntactically are separated by several lines, e.g. 8, where *ἄνακτος* in v. 4 is governed by *μήτηρ* in v. 8. And syntax is sometimes strained by the pursuit of figures of speech; e.g. in 15 all the accusatives from *τοῦτον* in v. 20 to *κρινοῦντα* in v. 32 are governed by *πιστεύετε* in v. 33, the clause having been extended by a series of twelve rhyming lines in *-κότα*, which are themselves a paraphrase of two Byzantine versions of the Creed.

IV

The prosody and metre of the poems is characteristic of the presumed period of their composition (1). The poet endeavours to make his Byzantine accentual twelve-syllable verse fit the pattern of the classical quantitative iambic trimeter by:

(i) observing the distinction between the long vowels *η ω* and the short vowels *ε ο*.

(ii) treating the *δίχρονα α ι υ* as arbitrarily long or short without regard to their true quantity in classical Greek (2).

(1) This part of the present study is based on a paper read at the seminar by Dr N. Panayotakis, to whom the author is much indebted.

(2) On this treatment of the *δίχρονα* by poets who try to observe traditional distinctions of quantity cf. F. Kuhn, *Symbolae ad doctrinae περὶ διχρόνων historiam pertinentes*, *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* 6 iii (1893) 59-61.

(iii) observing the classical rules for length by position. Examples of arbitrary treatment of the *δίχρονα* are *μῐσεῖ* (3.4), *σῐγῶσα* (12.1), *κῐβωτον* (13.3), *φῠλα* (8.3), *βασῑλεα* (14.37), *θῡσιαις* (20.8), *ῡ̔δωρ* (27.8), *ᾱ̔γίων* (16.1), *ἀθανᾱτον*, (29.4).

Proper names, especially non-Greek proper names, and technical terms of theology are scanned in an arbitrary manner. Examples are: *Μιχᾱηλ* (11.11), *Γō̄λιαθ* (14.25) *Βᾱσιλειε* (12.2), *τριᾱδος* (15.5), *τρῑαδι* (15.13), *θεολō̄γον* (14.49). Certain aberrant spellings seem to be attributable to the poet's efforts to conform at least formally to the requirements of classical quantitative metre, e.g. *εἰκεογράφους* (3.3) for *εἰκαῖογράφους*, *ἐνηγκαλήσα* (15.7) for *ἐνηγκαλῖσα*. These are departures from the classical orthographic tradition made for metrical reasons, as the demotic forms used in the poem are departures from the classical morphological tradition.

There are few departures from the poet's prosodical and metrical principles in the poems, and in several of these the text is in doubt. Departures noted are: *ἀθροίσασα* (2.1) giving a spondee in the fourth place (perhaps the poet absent-mindedly treats *οι* as a *δίχρονον* like its homophone *υ*); *καὶ θεός ἐστι* (4.2) giving a trochee in the first place (can *θεός* be treated as a technical term like *θεολόγος*?); *συγχέαντες* (16.39) giving a spondee in the second place (we could emend to *ἐγχέαντες*, but there may be something more seriously wrong with the line); *πνοῶν* (28.4) giving a pyrrichius in the fourth place (probably to be removed by emending the word-order).

Hiatus is scrupulously avoided, even at the cost of introducing demotic forms, e.g. *σάρκαν* (16, 24).

Of the legible verses 122 have the penthemimeral caesura, 151 the hephthemimeral, and two caesurae are anomalous (6.3 and 14.9).

As regards the accentual rhythm, of the endings which can be read with certainty 263 are paroxytone, five oxytone, and five proparoxytone. These exceptions are probably due to the poet's inability to adapt to the requirements of his metre some scriptural, patristic, or hagiographic text upon

which he is drawing. The penthemimeral caesurae show 19 proparoxytones, 65 paroxytones, 37 oxytones, and one where the reading is uncertain. The hephthemimeral caesurae show 119 proparoxytones, 25 paroyxtones, and four oxytones. Thus the accentuation of the hephthemimeral caesurae shows a marked approximation to later Byzantine practice, while that of the penthemimeral caesurae is still relatively labile.

fol. 381 *'ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Ν ΣΤΙΧΟΙ 'ΙΑΜΒΙΚΟΙ*

'Εγὼ θάλασσαν ὁ κρατῶν ἐξουσίᾳ
τόν κύκλον οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς τὸν μέσον
ταπεινὸς ὤφθην σαρκὸς ἐν μετουσίᾳ
ζητῶν τὸν εἰς γῆν οὐρανῷ συναρπάσαι.

1. *ἐξουσίαν* cod. 4. *συναρπάσας* cod.

2) *ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΥ*

'Εγὼ προφητῶν ἀθροίσασα τοὺς λόγους
τόκῳ σαφεῖς ἔδειξα τοῦ πρωταιτίου,
καὶ γῆν συνοψίσασα τούτῳ τῷ βρέφει
τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκλινα τῆς Εὔας γόνος.

Marg. *῾Ο νοῦς ὧδε, τὰ ἐξακουόμενα περιλαμβάνων, τὴν δὲ σύνταξιν οὐ κατὰ πᾶσαν λέξιν ἀκολουθῶν· ἐγὼ τῆς Εὔας ἡ θυγάτηρ τῶν ἁπάντων γεννήσασα τὸν αἴτιον τῶν προφητῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐπλήρωσα, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκλινα τούτῳ τῷ παιδίῳ τοὺς γηγενεῖς συνοψίσασα.*

3) *'ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Ν*

Τὴν σάρκα μᾶλλον, οὐ θεὸν περιγράφω,
θεὸν δὲ δεικνύει με τῆς γραφῆς τύπος·
τοὺς οὖν βεβήλους εἰκαιογράφους φρονῶν
τίς οὐ μισεῖ καὶ πάντας ἠθετηκότας;

3. *εἰκεογράφους* cod.

4) ʼΑΛΛΑ

Ὁρᾷς τὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ σαρκίῳ;
καὶ θεός ἐστι τὸν γενάρχην ὁ κτίσας·
σὲ πάντες εὐλογοῦμεν οἱ σεσωσμένοι,
ἄρρητε τὴν σύμπασαν ὁ κλίνων κτίσιν.

1. *ἀλλὰ ὁρᾷς* cod. 3. *Marg. ἀπόστροφος πρὸς τὸν Χ(ριστὸ)ν*

5) ʼΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΝ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΟΥ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Υ

Τὰς μητρικὰς αἴρουσα χεῖρας, υἱέ μου,
ἣν κλῆσιν ἠθέλησας οὐκ ἀποστρέφῃ·
οἴκτειρον ἣν εἴληφας ἐξ ἡμῶν φύσιν,
δούλην γὰρ οὖσαν ἠξίωσας ἐν τόκῳ.

2. *τὴν* cod. 3. *ἤλειφας* cod.
Marg. Υἱὸς ἐμὸς καλεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπαναίνει, ἐπεὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἠθέλησας αὐτός, καὶ δούλην οὖσαν ἠξιώσας ἔχειν ἐπὶ γῆς μητέρα.
ἀπανένη cod.

6) ʼΑΜΟΙΒΑΙΑ

Μῆτερ καλῶς ᾔτησας†εἶκον μητέρες.†
fol. 381v *χαίρω δὲ τὴν αἴτησιν οἰκτεῖραι θέλων.*
ἄβυσσον οἰκτιρμῶν δέ μου πῶς ἠγνόεις;
'αἰτεῖτε' πᾶσιν εἶπον, οἷς αἰτεῖν θέμις.

4. *αἰτεῖται* cod. *Marg.* 2. *τὴν φύσιν δη(λαδή).*

7) ΑΛΛΑ ʼΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΝ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΝ ʽΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Υ ʼΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗ ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΒΡΕΦΟΥΣ ʼΟΝΤΟΣ

Καὶ παρθένος μένουσα πηγάζεις γάλα,
καὶ σάρκα βαστάζουσα τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν,
τὸν μικτὸν οὗτον τὸν θεάνθρωπον λέγω,
σὸν υἱὸν οἰκείωσον ὄντα με ξένον.

8) ʼΑΛΛΑ ʼΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΝ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΝ

Καὶ τὸ χρέως δέδωκα τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης,
καὶ δόξαν ἀντέκτισιν ἐκληρωσάμην,
ᾗ δοῦλα πάντα τῶν ἀσωμάτων φῦλα·
ἄνακτος ὃν λέγουσι τούτων δεσπότην,
ὃς πάντα κάμπτει τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἰσχύος,
ᾧ σὺν τρόμῳ πτέρυξιν ἐστεγασμένοι
βοῶσιν ὕμνον χρῆμα τῆς λειτουργίας,
μήτηρ ἄνανδρος ἠξιωμένη πέλω.

2. *ἀντέκτησιν* cod. *Marg.* 4. *Ἄδετον τὸ σχῆμα, ἐξακουόμενον δὲ ἔχει τὸν γὰρ σύνδεσμον.*
8. *Τὸ μήτηρ πρὸς τὸ ἄνακτος ἔχει τὴν σύνταξιν.*

9) ʼΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΝ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΟ ΒΡΕΦΟΣ

Ἔχον τὰ πάντα κόλπον ὡς θρόνῳ πέλει
βρέφος παλαιὸν τέξαν αἰῶνος μόνον
ποθεῖ βροτείαις χερσὶν ἠγκαλισμένον
τὸ χειρὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ἑδράζον κτίσιν·
θεὸς δὲ καὶ παῖς δικτύῳ τῷ σαρκίῳ
εἰς φίλτρον ἕλκει μητέραν καὶ τὴν φύσιν.

4. *ἑδράζων* cod. 5. *δεικτύῳ* cod.

10) ʼΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ

Ἄνανδρος ἡ γέννησις ἀλλ' ἐκ πνεύματος,
fol. 382 *ἄρρητος ἡ κύησις ἀλλὰ κυρίως*
θεὸς τὸ τεχθέν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τρέψαν φύσιν
ἄνθρωπος ὤφθη, ῥημάτων ὑπέρτερος.

2. *ἄρρηκτος* cod.

11) ʼΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ʼΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΝ ʼΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤ(ΗΓΟΝ)

Ἀσώματον λειτουργὸν ὄντα δεσπότου
πῶς τοῖς βροτοῖς ὕλη σε δεικνύει κάτω;

ἀὴρ ἰχνῶν ἔχων σε χωρὶς εἰς δρόμους,
μᾶλλον δ' ἅπασα γῆ πατημάτων δίχα·
πῶς ἄρθρα καὶ μέρη τε καὶ σχῆμα γράφει
καὶ κάλλος οὐ λαλητὸν ἀνθρώποις ἔχων
ἐκ τοῦ νοητοῦ τὴν ἀπόρρητον φύσιν;
πῶς σοι βαφὴ πέφυκε ἡ τῶν χρωμάτων
ἐκ τοῦ κάτω τε καὶ πενιχροῦ χωρίου;
ἀσώματος σὺ τοὺς ἀσωμάτους βάλε,
τρῶσον, Μιχαήλ, σαρκικοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους,
ἐπεὶ σε καὶ γῆ χρωματουργεῖ προστάτην.

4. πατουμένη cod. 5. ἄθρα cod.
6. ἀλάλητον cod. 7. χύσιν cod.
Marg. 6. θέλεις οὐ λαλητὸν διὰ τὸ μέτρον.

12) 'ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΓΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ

Λαλεῖ σιγῶσα, νουθετεῖ παραινέσεις
σοῦ Βασίλειε καὶ σκιὰ τοῦ σαρκίου·
λόγοι δὲ πᾶσαν ὡς θεοῦ φωναὶ κτίσιν
βροντῶσι καὶ στρέφουσι τῆς πλάνης ὄρη.

13) 'ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΓΙΟΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΝ

Τὰ δαιμόνων γέμοντα τὴν πλάνην σκάφη
κατερράγησαν εἰς βράχη σῶν δογμάτων,
καὶ τεκτονήσας τὴν κιβωτὸν τῶν λόγων
ᾤκισας υἱοὺς ἔνδον ὀρθοδοξίας.

4. ᾤκησας cod.

14) 'ΑΛΛΑ

Σοὶ καὶ βυθὸς ῥέοντι τὴν σωτηρίαν
fol. 382v ἄπειρος εὐκύμαντος ἐν θεωρίᾳ,
καὶ τῶν λόγων εὔηχος ὑψηγητία,
στῆλαι μένουσιν ὀρθοδοξίας πάτερ,
αἷς ἀκρονυχίζουσιν οἱ μεμηνότες
καὶ πρὸς πόδας βαίνουσι τῶν δρωμένων·

. . . . . δόγμα σοι, πάτερ, πλέκειν στέφη
καὶ τὴν κάραν σου τὴν πανευκλεεστάτην
ηπερ τ. .χοντα φωτὸς κύκλον
καταυγάζουσα τὴν κάτω βάσιν
ἄϋλος ἄστρων ἐγκαθήμενος σ χο
ὡραιόμορφος ὀμμάτων ἐν θέσιν
†ἵν' σὴν† ἀπεικόνιζε τὴν θεωρίαν.
εἰ δὲ σπάθας ἔταξεν ἠκονημένας
τὸ τμητικόν σου τοῦτο τῶν ἐναντίων·
εἰ δίστομον δὲ καὶ κατεστυγημένην,
τρίγωνον αἰχμὴν εἶχεν ἥλοις ἡρμένην,
ἔφαινεν ἔνθεν αἱρετιζόντων βλάβην,
ἔχαιρον ἔνθεν οὓς ἔσωζες ἐκ βλάβης·
ἅπασα δ' ἂν γέγηθεν ἡ ἐκκλησία
τῷ σῷ τροπαίῳ τὴν νίκην ἐστεμμένη,
παίζουσα τόξα τοῦ τριεσπέρου πάλαι.
'Αχιλλέως γελῶσα τὴν πανοπλίαν,
ἐξουθενοῦσα Γλαυκικὴν παντευχίαν,
καὶ κερτομοῦσα Γολιὰθ παροινίαν,
καὶ ταῦτα δεξιῶν τε κἀξ εὐωνύμων.
εἰ δ' ἔπρεπε βρίθουσα μαργάρου φύσις
ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ σάπφειρος ἤ τι τῶν κάτω,
fol. 383 ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἥρμοττεν, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κάτω.
χερουβικὴν γὰρ εἰς θεολόγου κάραν,
ἧς ὀργάνων ἤστραψε τοῦ θεοῦ βάθη,
πενιχρά πως πέφυκε ταῦτα καὶ ξένα·
ἄνω δὲ φέγγη π. . .ελητοῦ στέμματος
ἀνέσπερος πρὸς ηδονες
τῶν φερ
καὶ . . . περιγράφοντα τῶν δρωμένων
τούτων ἐνωπ βασιλέα
καθήμενον . . . . . τοὺς ἐπηρμένους
ἄρρητον εἰκόνισμα τοῦ πρώτου φάους.
τοιόνδε πλέξον ἢ λόγου κρεῖττον στέφος
τὸ δόγμα σῶμα καὶ φιλεργὸν εἰ πέλεν,
ἣν ἄξιον σῇ παγκλεεστάτῃ κάρᾳ.
τί σοι, τί σοι δὴ λοιπὸν οἱ πτωχοί, πάτερ,
ἐκ τῶν ῥεόντων εἰσενέγκωμεν γέρας,
καὶ ταῦτα σαῖς ἔχοντες εὐχαριστίαις
ἐξ ὧν δοκῶμεν εἰσφέρειν ἀπαργμάτων,

οἱ δόγμασι ζήσαντες οἷς εἶλες πλάνην,
οἰκεῖα παγγάληνε σοφίας στόμα,
φίλε Τριάδος ὄργανον θεολόγον,
τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄνθρωπε, ταῦτα προσδέχου
ἄποινα προσφέροντας, εὔγνωμον χάριν.

17. *τρίγονον* cod. 14. *εἰκονημένας* cod.
19. *ἔσωζες* (ν supra) cod. 29. *ἥρμοτεν* cod.
42. *παμκλεεστάτη* cod. 44. *εἰσενέγκομεν* cod.
Marg. 7. *Τὸ ἐκ Μάρκου διὰ τὸ καλλιεπέστερον... εἰρημένον ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον...*
48. *Ἐκ τῶν φθειρομένων εἰσενέγκομεν εἰς τιμήν.*

15) *ἈΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ*

Ὁρᾷς με τὸν τρίπηχυν, εἰπὲ νῦν, πάτερ·
εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὕψωσα δογμάτων κάραν.
βλέπεις με γῆν πατοῦντα τὴν δρωμένην·
fol. 383v *ἐν τῷ βυθῷ βέβηκα τῆς θεωρίας.*
στενὸν περιγράφεις με τὴν σάρκα βλέπων·
ἥπλωσα χεῖρας γνώσεως ὅλῃ κτίσει,
βροτοὺς ἐνηγκάλισα πρὸς θεῖον σέβας.
εἰ ταῦτα φῂς, κλίναντες ἡμεῖς τὰς κάρας
βοήσομεν, ναὶ τὴν χάριν κηρύττομεν.

7. *ἐνηγκάλησα* cod. 8. *φεὶς* cod.

16) *ἈΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ*

Σιγῶσι μᾶλλον εἰκόνες τῶν ἁγίων,
ἡ σὴ σιγᾶν ἔοικεν οὐδόλως, πάτερ·
λάλει θεοῦ κίνησιν ἀρχικωτάτην
ἡμῖν νοητῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑξάδος
μέχρι τριάδος ἐκ μονάδος ἠργμένην.
ἔλλειψιν ἢ πρόσληψιν ἢ ξένην φύσιν,
τιμὴν ἄτιμον ἢ τιμῶσιν ἀθλίως,
ἐκ τῆς τριάδος ἐξόριζε κἂν τύπῳ,
καὶ προσκυνεῖν δίδαξον ἐστηλωμένος
τρισήλιον φῶς εἰς μοναρχίας τύπον,
μήτ' οὖν διαιρεῖν εἰς ὑπάρξεις ἐκφύλους,
μήτ' οὖν συνάπτειν εἰς ἀθεΐας βρόχον,

ἀσύγχυτον δ' ἕνωσιν ἐν τῇ τριάδι
διαίρεσιν δ' ἄτμητον ἐν τῇ μονάδι
ἀλλοτρίωσιν οὐ δεδεγμένην σέβειν,
ὧν εἷς ἀμήτωρ ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ χρόνων
ἄπατρις εἰς γῆν ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου,
διπλοῦς πεφυκώς, οὐχ ὑπόστασιν, φύσιν
ἐναντίων εἷς ἐκ δύο γνωρίζεται·
καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄγγελον μέγα
fol. 384 *τοῦ πλάσματος πρὸς οἶκτον ἠνθρωπηκότα,*
πάντα βροτὸν παθητὸν ἐμφανικότα,
οὐχ ὡς θεὸν δὲ σαρκικῶς πεπονθότα,
οὐδ' ὡς βροτὸν τὴν σάρκαν ἡμαρτηκότα,
σταυρόν, ταφὴν καὶ τἆλλα καρτερηκότα,
θραύσαντα τὸν θραύσαντα τὸν πεπτωκότα,
τριήμερόν τε γῆθεν ἐκπηδηκότα,
εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἔπειτα δεδραμηκότα,
τὴν σάρκα τὴν θέωσιν ἐνθρονικότα,
καὶ πατρὶ συγκάθεδρον εὐδοκηκότα,
μεθ' ἧς πάλιν τε θεῖαν ἠμειβηκότα
ἥξοντα καὶ κρινοῦντα πάντας εἰκότα·
πιστεύετε φρονεῖτε πάσῃ καρδίᾳ,
μηδὲ κλαπῆτε συμφοραῖς ἀτασθάλοις,
μηδὲ πλάνην δέξησθε, σύμβουλον δόλον,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν καλῶν δεδογμένα
καὶ πράξεων πτέρυξιν ἀρθῆτε πλέον,
τὸ λάμπον ἀμφοῖν εἰς ἓν ὀρθοδοξίας
ὡς σκεῦος συγχέαντες, ὄλβον τὸν μέγα,
χαίροντες ὃν φέροντες εἰς προῖκαν, φίλοι,
ἔρχεσθε πάντες νυμφικῶς ἐσταλμένοι,
ὀρθοδρομοῦντες εἰς μονὰς αἰωνίους.
τοιαῦτα τοῖς ποθοῦσιν οὐ λέγων λέγεις·
δρωμένη γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ τῆς εἰκόνος
ἄρρητα πάντα καρδίαις διαγράφει.

22. *ἐμφανηκότα* cod. 26. *ἐκπεπηδηκότα* cod.
29. *ἐνθρονηκότα* cod. 32. *κρίνοντα* cod.
33. *πιστεύεται* cod. 34. *κλαπεῖτε* cod.
39. *ὢ σκεῦος* cod., an *ἐγχέαντες*.
Marg. 3. *Διὰ τοῦτο μονὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη* (Greg. Naz., *Or.* 29, *PG* 36, col. 76).
9. *Καὶ ἐν εἰκόνι ὤν.*
23. *Οὐχὶ θεὸν ὄντα πάθη δεξάμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ἐπεὶ διπλοῦς ἦν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.*

17) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ*

Σκάμανδρος ἐκλέλοιπεν, Ἑρμὸς ἐστάθη,
fol. 384ᵛ *καὶ ῥεῖθρα Νεῖλος ἐκράτησεν ὡς ἴδε*
τὰ ῥεύματα τρέχοντα τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου
σὺν Ὠκεανῷ τὴν ἅμιλλαν, ὦ πάτερ·
ναὶ τῶν λόγων γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τὴν κτίσιν
ἐπικρατεῖ ῥέουσα τὴν σωτηρίαν.

18) *ἈΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΝ*

Ἄβυσσον ἡμῖν ἐμφανίζει τῶν λόγων
ὁ τὰς ἀβύσσους κερματίζων εἰς χθόνα,
ἐκεῖθεν ὡς ἔοικε ῥεῖθρον ἁρπάσας
τὸν χρυσορρητόρευτον οὖν Ἰωάννην.

19) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ἉΓΙΟΝ ἈΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΝ*

Τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐτράνωσεν ἡ θεωρία,
τὴν γνῶσιν ἠκρίβωσεν ὀρθοδοξία·
πτεροῖς διελθὼν οἷς μέγας θυηπόλος
τὰς οὐρανίους Ἀθανάσιος πύλας
ἄληκτον εὗρε τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοικίαν.

20) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ἉΓΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝ*

Εἰς οὐρανοὺς τρέχουσιν οἱ θεολόγοι
καὶ γῇ μένουσιν ὡς στρατηγοὶ τῶν κάτω·
ὁ δεύτερος Παύλου δὲ καὶ πρῶτος μέδων
Διονύσιος εἰς χοροὺς ἀσωμάτων
ἀναδραμὼν ἔρωτι τῆς θεωρίας,
ἄρρητα κύψας εἰς θεοῦ τε χωρία,
καὶ φόρτον εἰς νοῦν ἐνθέων θεὶς εἰκόνας
κατῆξεν, οὐράνωσε γῆν ταῖς θυσίαις.

3. *μέδων* Panayotakis *μεθὸν* cod.

21) *ἈΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ*

Μωσῆς ἀνῆλθεν εἰς ὄρος νομογράφος·
fol. 385 *εἰς οὐρανοὺς σὺ δογματογράφος, πάτερ.*
ὁ μὲν τὰ νῦν πόρρωθεν ἐσκιογράφει·
σὺ δ' αὐτὰ δῶρον ἐμφανεῖ θεοπτίᾳ
λαβὼν κατωλβίωσας †ἡ πᾶσαν κτίσιν

5. *κατολβίωσας* cod. *ἡ·* an *τὴν*? *κατολβιώσας εἰ* dubitanter Panayotakis.

22) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ ὌΝΤΑ ΒΡΕΦΟΣ*

Τὸ μικρὸν οὗτο καὶ θεάνθρωπον βρέφος
ἀνέπλασε φθαρεῖσαν ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν.

23) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἉΓΙΟΥΣ ἈΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΥΣ*

Ὑμᾶς ἔχει δὲ προστατὰς πᾶσα κτίσις
ἀνάργυρον ποθοῦσα τὴν σωτηρίαν,
εἰς δόξαν ἔνθεν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς τέλος
Βασίλειος εἴληφα τούσδε τοὺς τύπους.

Marg. 3. *Θέλεις τὴν ἔχουσαν μὴ τέλος.*

24) *ΕΙΣ ἈΣΚΗΤΗΝ ἘΝ ΣΠΗΛΑΙΩι*

Ἀνθοῦσι καὶ σπήλαια τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν·
λάμπουσι †λόγαι φῶτα τὴν οἰκουμένην·
εἰς τὴν Ἐδὲμ ἔρημος ἐκτείνει κλάδους.

2. *λόγαι* cod. *λόχμαι* Panayotakis, an *λογγαί*?

25) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ἉΓΙΟΝ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΑΝ ΕΙΣ ἙΝ ΣΑΝΙΔΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΣΧΗΜΑ ἈΝΩ ἘΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΥΧΗΝ ΤΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ*

Ὁ νοῦς θεῷ καὶ χεῖρες ἐπτερωμέναι
διαγράφουσι τὴν ἄσαρκον φροντίδα·
εἶδος τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τριχῶν ἡ λευκότης
τὴν ἔνδον ἐμφαίνουσιν ἄχραντον θέσιν.

ὑμεῖς ἀληθῶς ἦτε φῶς οἰκουμένης,
στῆλαι τροπαίων, οὐρανοδρόμοι βάσεις,
οἱ δαιμόνων φλέξαντες ἄνθρακες πλάνην.

26) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ῾ΑΓΙΟΥΣ ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΚΟΝΤΑΣ ῾ΙΣΤΟΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ᾿ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΛΙΜΝΗΣ*

Καὶ συμπονῶ πάσχουσιν εἰδὼς τὴν φύσιν,
καὶ συγγεγήθω τὰ στέφη τὰ τῶν πόνων.
ὦ μάρτυρες, τίς ἦξεν εἰς λίμνην πικράν;
ἔρως· τίς οὗτος; τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ· βαβαί,
καὶ τοῦ πόθου † πόση δὲ τῆς εὐτολμίας.
ὕδωρ διὸ φλέξαντες αἱμάτων ζέσει
φλογός νοητῆς ἄνθρακες, καὶ τὴν πλάνην,
ὕλην παθῶν μου καύσατε ψυχῆς νέφος,
γόνον δὲ καρπῶν ψυχικῶν δρόσον δότε.

27) *᾿ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ᾿ΑΥΤΟΥΣ*

Στρατὸς πνέων φρύαγμα καὶ θράσος γέμων,
εἴποι τις ὧδε τοὺς ἀηττήτους βλέπων.
ἄνακτα κομψὸν ἀέρι στρατευμάτων
ἠχοῦντα γῆθεν, ἐκφοβοῦντα τὴν κτίσιν,
κλονοῦντα τὴν σύμπασαν ὁρμῇ τοῦ κράτους,
κατεφρόνησαν ἄρτι δὲ ξένῳ τρόπῳ.
θέλουσι καὶ στοιχεῖα πορθῆσαι τάχα,
βάλλουσιν ὕδωρ καὶ φονεύουσιν κρύος,
καίουσι πῦρ δὲ τῆς προθυμίας πυρί,
τὸν ἀέρα φλέγουσιν ἀτμοῖς αἱμάτων.
λίμνη δὲ γῇ κάτωθεν ἐγκεκρυμμένη
χάριν βραβεύει συντρόφῳ πεφλεγμένη,
πατουμένη δὲ καὶ δίκην κρατουμένη,
φυγεῖν ποθοῦσα, μὴ ταράξῃ δὲ στίχας
σιγῶσα κεῖται καὶ φέρει κλονουμένη.
τοιαῦτα μὴ θαύμαζε τῷ θαμβουμένῳ·
τὸ θεῖον ἠθέλησε δοῦναι τὴν νίκην,
fol. 386 *ἐπεὶ νικῶσιν οὐχ ἅπερ λέγεις μόνα·*
καὶ δαίμονας νικῶσι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

8. *βαλοῦσιν* cod. 12. *πεπλεγμένη* cod.

28) *᾿ΕΝ ᾿ΙΤΑΛΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ῾ΟΝ ᾿ΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕ ΤΟΥ ῾ΑΓΙΟΥ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΤΟΥ ᾿ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΣ ΤΙΣ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ᾿ΕΞ ᾿ΑΛΛΟΔΑΠΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΙΚΗΣΑΣ ᾿ΕΚΕΙΣΕ* .

Σοὶ ναὸν ἐξήγειρα τόνδε, Βαρνάβα,
ναῷ θεοῦ πέλοντι Βαρνάβας ξένος,
σοὶ τῷ μαθητεύσαντι τοῖς πρωτοθρόνοις,
διδασκάλῳ κρατοῦντι πνοῶν τὰς πύλας,
κινοῦντι τὴν σύμπασαν ὀφρύος λόγῳ,
ἄρρητα δεικνύοντι τῶν ἐπηρμένων,
ἄνθρωπον ἑλκύσαντι βάθρων τῆς πλάνης,
καὶ σύντομον δείξαντι τὴν σωτηρίαν·
σοὶ τῷ προεδρεύσαντι τὴν ᾿Αντιόχου,
καὶ γῆν διαδράμοντι πᾶσαν τῷ λόγῳ,
φθόγγῳ τε κυκλώσαντι τὴν οἰκουμένην,
ἱδρῶτι σῶν πλύναντι τὴν πλάνην κόπων·
σοὶ τῷ μιμητῇ πάντα τῷ διδασκάλῳ
καὶ νῦν σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι χρόνους
αἰωνίους θείοις τε τῶν ἀκηράτων.
ἀλλ᾿ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, ὦ καλῶς κεκλημένε
παρακαλεσμοῦ παιδίον, δός, ἀντίδος
εἰς τὴν ᾿Εδὲμ οἴκημα τῷ σῷ Βαρνάβᾳ·
τὴν σὴν πόλιν φρούρησον οἷα προστάτης,
λαὸν σὸν ἐκλύτρωσον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων,
τῶν βαρβάρων σύντριψον ἐθνῶν τὰ κράτη,
νίκην θεοβράβευτον οὐρανοδρόμον
fol. 386v *ἐν γῇ παράσχου Χριστεπωνύμῳ γένει,*
τὰς δωρέας ἔμπλησον ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου,
τὴν χεῖρα τὴν βρύουσαν ἄφθονον χάριν
αἰτήσεως ἄνοιξον ὄντως ἰσχύι,
καὶ πρὸς μονὰς κίνησον εὐθυοδρόμῳ
βάσει καταντήσοντας εἰρήνης μόνας.

12. *τῶν σῶν* cod. 21. *κράτει* cod.
Marg. 3. *᾿Αντὶ τοῦ σὺν τοῖς πρωτοθρόνοις ἐν διδασκάλῳ τοιούτῳ.*
5. *Τῷ νεύματι.*

29) *ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ᾿ΙΔΙΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΙΣ ᾿ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ*

῾Ο μικρὸς οὗτος τύμβος ἁρπάσας ἕνα
ἔθαψε πολλῶν τῷ ταφέντι καρδίας·
τὸ μνῆμα χαῖρε τὸν Σάβα κλεῖον μέσον,
ἄνθρωπον ἀθάνατον ὄντα τοῖς τρόποις·
ἀλλ᾿ ὦ πάτερ μέμνησο παιδὸς ἐκτόκου
ζωῆς ἐπελθὼν ἄρτι θεῖα χωρία.

COMMENTARY

The title of the first poem is preceded by a decorative heading in red and brown, as are most of the major items in this manuscript. Initial letters of each poem are in red, unless otherwise noted. The marginal scholia are each surrounded by a red line.

1.2 *θάλασσαν ... τὸν κύκλον οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς τὸν μέσον.* The order A, B *τε καὶ* C is not mentioned by any of the grammarians.

4 *τὸν εἰς γῆν οὐρανῷ* = *τὸν ἐν γῇ εἰς οὐρανόν* with the confusion between motion to and rest in, and between *εἰς* c. acc. and dative, all occasioned by the gradual loss of the dative in spoken Greek. Cf. J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec du Ier au Xe siècle*, 1930, 60 ff. The substitution of simple dative for *εἰς* c. acc. is not sufficiently noted by grammarians.

2. Tit. *τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου.* Probably a slip of author or copyist for *εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς π. θ.* or the like, rather than a genitive functioning as dative, on which cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I², 222-224, with literature. All the other titles are of the form *εἰς* c. acc., never dative. However datival genitives in formulae of dedication are cited by Löfstedt, *l.c.*

2. 2 *ἀθροίσασα.* The second syllable is irregularly treated as short.

πρωταιτίου. Cited by *LSJ* only from scholia on Hermogenes and Thucydides. It also occurs in the Scholia to Eur. Or. 553, and in Cedrenus (= Scylitzes) II.342. It does not seem to have been a theological technical term.

συνοψίσασα. 'reconciling'; cf. Leo Gramm, p. 259.4 ff. *Λέων ... συνοψίζει Φωτίῳ πατριάρχῃ Θεόδωρον ... Φώτιος δὲ τοῦτον Βασιλείῳ βασιλεῖ μεσιτεύει καὶ συνοψίζει.* The marginal commentary rightly takes *γῆν* = *τοὺς γηγενεῖς.*

3. 1 *περιγράφω.* Used in a double sense with *σάρκα* and *θεόν*, with reference to the iconoclast charge that an icon limits (*περιγράφει*) the illimitable (*ἀπερίγραπτον*). Cf. N. H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and other Essays*, 1955, 135-136. The poet may be thinking of the sophisticated distinction between *γραφή* and *περιγραφή* elaborated by Nicephorus, in his *Antirrhetici* (cf. P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 1952, 206-211).

3 *εἰκαιογράφους*, written *εἰκεογράφους* 'to get an apparently short second syllable. The word is not attested elsewhere. The reference is presumably to the Iconoclasts, 'writers of nonsense'.

φρονῶν τίς. What man in his right mind.

4 *μισεῖ.* First syllable scanned short in accordance with the poet's regular treatment of the *δίχρονα.*

3. 4 *πάντας.* What substantive is to be understood? The Iconoclasts did not reject all men, they rejected all images of the divine; but *εἰκών* is feminine. Perhaps we are to understand *τύπους* from v. 2.

4. 1 *σαρκίῳ.* cf. 12. 2 *σοῦ, Βασίλειε, καὶ σκιὰ τοῦ σαρκίου*, and probably 9. 5 *δικτύῳ τῷ σαρκίῳ*, though here it may be for *σαρκείῳ.* In Hellenistic Greek *σαρκίον* was often used in a pejorative sense: cf. Plut. Brut. 8 *οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Βροῦτος ἀναμεῖναι τουτὶ τὸ σαρκίον*; Marc. Aurel. 2. 2 *ὅτι ποτὲ τοῦτό εἰμι σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.* Hence it readily passed into Christian use in the sense of 'the flesh' as opposed to the spirit. Stephanus s.v. cites Gregory of Nazianzus without a reference.

2 *θεός* On the metre cf p. 294.

γενάρχην. Adam, the first man.

5. 2 *ἣν κλῆσιν ἠθέλησας* i.e. *υἱός. αἴρουσα* is probably to be understood as a nominative absolute, 'while I raise my hands in prayer'.

6. This poem is written as a reply to the preceding one. The first line is corrupt, and no obvious emendation suggests itself. The meaning seems to be 'mother, your prayer was right and fitting for a mother.' Can *εἶκον* be meant as a *present* participle formed from *ἔοικα*, in the sense 'befit,' and governing an accusative *μητέρας* or *μητέρα*? I know of no parallel.

7. 2 *τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.* sc. *πηγάζεις.*

3 *οὗτον.* cf. 20. 1 *τὸ μικρὸν οὗτο καὶ θεάνθρωπον βρέφος*, an evident echo of the present line. In both cases the form is chosen to make a short syllable in the third place. Though in Boeotian such forms as *οὕτω* (gen. sing. masc.), *οὗταν οὗτα* occur, the use of these forms in Byzantine Greek is probably due to the same false analogy as led to the feminine singular *ταύτη* (cf. S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, 1913, 196), and the forms *τοῦτος, τοῦτοι*, etc. (A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, 1897, 160). In spoken Greek *οὗτος* was being replaced by *αὐτός* (Psaltes, *op. cit.*, 194-195; D. C. Hesseling, *Morceaux choisis du*

Pré Spirituel de Jean Moschos 1931, 53; K. WEIERHOLT, *Studien im Sprachgebrauch des Malalas* [Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet. XVIII], 1963, 14-16), and the feeling for its correct usage lost.

θεάνθρωπον. Not in *LSJ*, but listed by Stephanus without a reference. It occurs in Leontius of Byzantium, *MPG* 86.1.1708B.

7. 4 *σὸν υἱὸν οἰκείωσον... με.* For the replacement of dative by accusative in such contexts cf. the passages cited by H. LJUNGVIK, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* [Skrifter utgivna av. K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala 27.3], 1932, 48-49 and HUMBERT, *op. cit.*, 178 ff. There is no metrical reason why the dative should not have been used here.

8. 2 *ἀντέκτισιν.* Although *-ι-*, as a *δίχρονον*, can make a long syllable, the author or the scribe writes *-η-* to show that he counts it as a long.

4 *ἄνακτος.* Governed by *μήτηρ* v. 8, as the commentator observes.

5 *τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἰσχύος.* cf. 25.5 *κινοῦντι τὴν σύμπασαν ὀφρύος λόγῳ.*

9. 1 *κόλπον*, object of *ποθεῖ. ὡς θρόνῳ πέλει* must mean 'as if he were on a throne.'

6 *μητέραν* to make a long eighth syllable. For parallels cf. PSALTES, *op. cit.*, 150, 153-154 and literature there cited.

10. 2 *κυρίως.* In the proper sense of *ἄρρητος* 'ineffable'. The same point is repeated in v. 4 *ῥημάτων ὑπέρτερος.* Dr. Panayotakis makes the attractive suggestion that *ἄρρηκτος* be retained in the sense of *ἄρρηκτον τὸν παρθενικὸν ὑμένα φυλάξασα.*

11. 1 *ἀσώματος* of angelic creation, cf. passages cited in *PG* L s.v. § D.

6 *οὐ λάλητον.* So emended by the commentator on metrical grounds. But *-α-* is a *δίχρονον*, and there are plenty of parallels for such lengthening from Homeric *ἀθάνατος* on.

ἔχων. Probably an anacoluthic nominative taken up by *σοι*. Cf. the passages cited by LJUNGVIK, *op. cit.*, 8.

7 *φύσιν.* Dr. Panayotakis suggestes that *χύσιν* may be retained, *ἀπόρρητος χύσις* being the mystic light surrounding the archangel.

9 *ἐκ τοῦ κάτω τε καὶ πενιχροῦ χωρίου* balances *ἐκ τοῦ νοητοῦ.*

12 *χρωματουργεῖ.* Not in *LSJ*, although *χρωματουργός* and *χρωματουργία* are attested.

12. 1 *λαλεῖ σιγῶσα.* Cf. 16, 1-3.

νουθετεῖ παραινέσεις. Classcal Greek knows only pronominal or adjectival internal objects with *νουθετέω*, e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1156, Eur. *Supp.* 337, *Or.* 299, *Tr.* 1015. For the combination cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 264 *παραινεῖν νουθετεῖν τε τοὺς κακῶς πράσσοντας.*

2 *σαρκίον.* Cf. note on 4.1.

4 *βροντῶσι.* NB transitive, for which I know no parallel. *στρέφουσι ὄρη.* For *στρέφω* = 'overturn, upset' cf. Eur. *IT* 1166.

13. 1 *γέμω* transitive not attested in *LSJ* or Stephanus. It occurs in Theophanes, p. 128 De Boor.

3 *κιβωτὸν.* Noah's ark with the Orthodox aboard, contrasted with the *σκάφη* of heretics.

14. This poem has no heading in the manuscript, and is written continuously with the preceding poem. But *ἄλλα* is written in the margin in the same hand as the text, and the poem begins with a coloured initial. It is clearly a new poem.

2 *εὐκύμαντος* *LSJ* and Stephanus cite only Nicomachus of Gerasa, and (in a metaphorical sense) Eustathius.

3 *ὑψηγητία. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*; it must mean 'leading upwards.' It is an incorrect formation, but perhaps influenced by forms in *-ηγητεία*, e.g. *ἐξηγητεία.* The suffix *-εία* was productive in Byzantine Greek; cf. PSALTES, *op. cit.*, 263. Incidentally, eleven words in *-ητία* are cited by BUCK-PETERSON, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 163, often with variants in *-ησία* or *-ητεία.*

4 From here to v. 10 there is extensive damage by damp, and the text is too fragmentary to be reconstructed with any certainty. The marginal note, which extended over five lines, is illegible but for a few letters.

4 The first five letters might be *τ η κ α ι*, but all are uncertain. Probably they conceal some feminine plural substantive governing *ὀρθοδοξίας* and subject of *μένουσιν.*

5 *ἀκρονυχίζουσιν* is clear; of the preceding three letters the last is probably *-ς*; this suggests the dative plural of a relative pronoun, whose antecedent is the illegible substantive in the preceding line. *ἀκρονυχίζω* is not cited in the lexica; strictly it should be written *ἀκρωνυχίζω*, but spellings — and scansions — with *-ο-* are common, e.g. *A.P.* 12. 126. 2 (Meleager) 6. 103. 6 (Philippus, whichever writer of that name is meant), Quint. Smyrn. 8. 157. The word presumably means 'to touch with the tips of the fingers' or the like. *οἱ μεμηνότες* further qualified in the next line, will be the Arian and other heretics against whom Gregory polemised.

6 Immediately preceding *πρὸς* is *-ω*, preceded in its turn by one or two letters. I cannot suggest any plausible restoration. *πρὸς πόδας τῶν ὁρωμένων βαίνειν* means 'to stick closely to the visible world'; cf. Plato Ep. VII 330 e *τοῖς δ' ἔξω τὸ παράπαν βαίνουσι τῆς ὀρθῆς πολιτείας καὶ μηδαμῇ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτῆς εἰς ἴχνος ἰέναι.*

7-10 Nothing much can be made of these lines in the manuscript.

14 *ἔταξεν.* The subject is *τὸ τμητικὸν τῶν ἐναντίων.* The two protases are answered by a single apodosis, *ἔφαινεν κτλ.*

16 *δίστομον* 'two-edged,' a most unsuitable epithet for a spear. But the poet is merely playing with words of literary association. Dr. Panayotakis suggests a two-edged sword with a triangular point.

κατεστυγημένην. The word is not recorded in a text in *LSJ* or Stephanus; but it is glossed by Hesychius, in whose steps follow Photius, the Suda, and the lexicon in Bachmann, *Anecdota graeca*, 273.6. It is no doubt from the lexicographical tradition, and probably from Photius, that our poet got the word.

14. 17 *τρίγωνος* seems an inappropriate epithet; but the poet is thinking of the Trinity.

ἥλοις ἡρμένην fits a club rather than a spear; the poet has evidently no clear picture before his eyes.

18 *ἔφαινεν.* The subject is not clear, perhaps it is the *τρίγωνος αἴχμη.*

20 NB hiatus.

22 *τριεσπέρον.* Heracles. Cf Lycophr. 33. This piece of recondite learning is likely to have been derived from a lexicon, though the word does not seem to be cited by any of the surviving lexicographers.

25 *Γολιάθ.* The first syllable is treated as a long; the name is often written *Γωλιάτ/θ*, e.g. Glycas 327.20.

26 This line looks like a quotation, so inappropriate is it to the context in which it finds itself.

27 *εἰ δ' ἔπρεπε* apparently answers *εἰ δὲ σπάθας κτλ.* v. 14.

28 *ἤ τι τῶν κάτω.* The last two words are almost certainly miscopied from the following line.

30 *θεολόγου.* On the metre cf. p. 294.

33 From here to v. 38 little of the text can be read.

39 *ἄρρητον εἰκόνισμα κτλ.* What is this mystic representation of the original light? The previous lines seem to have contained the description of a king sitting enthroned before his subjects, perhaps as an allegory of the sun in relation to the other heavenly bodies.

41 *εἰ πέλεν.* The end of the verse is the regular position in tragedy for the dissyllabic parts of *πέλω.* However, unaugmented *πέλεν* belongs to the language of dactylic verse; its one occurrence in Attic drama is in a hexameter passage, Aristoph. *Pax* 1276. If it is not corrupt, it is the only specifically epic form occurring in our poems. In general, although Byzantine writers lumped Attic, the Atticising *κοινή* of the Second Sophistic, and the language of tragic dialogue together under the rubric of 'Atticism', they kept epic words and forms distinct. There is no reason in the context to suspect *εἰ πέλεν* : *εἰ τὸ δόγμα σῶμα πέλεν, ἄξιον ἦν* is a correctly formed conditional sentence.

42 *ἄξιον* c. dat. is not attested in the lexica. Just as the genitive tended to replace the moribund dative in living speech, so those aiming at literary Greek tended to replace genitives by datives at random.

43 *τί σοι κτλ.* If a worthy representation of St Gregory could only be made of the supernatural materials apparently described in the lacunose portion of the poem, why should mortals trouble to make images of him from perishable materials.

46 *ἐξ ὧν δοκῶμεν*, picked up by *δόγμασι* in the next line. The best firstfruits are those of correct belief, which we possess thanks to you (*σαῖς εὐχαριστίαις*).

47 *οἷς εἶλες πλάνην.* Antecedent is *δόγμασι.*

14.48 *οἰκεῖα.* With *ταῦτα* in v. 50 and *ἄποινα* in v. 51.

παγγάληνε. For masc. vocative with neut. substantives used of a living person cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, I, 53 'wohl nur in der Dichtersprache.' The word is not in *LSJ*.

49 *τριάδος ... θεολόγον.* For the metre cf. p. 294.

51 *εὔγνωμον.* The form *εὔγνωμος* seems not elsewhere attested. But the reorganisation of consonantal noun and adjective stems as thematic stems is a regular feature of mediaeval demotic Greek; cf. Psaltes, *op. cit.*, 178-179, G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, 1892, 381-2, 431-2. A close parallel to *εὔγνωμος* is the form *ἄσχημος* (Philodemus, Polemon, Hippiatr. etc.), Modern Greek *ἄσκημος*, remodelled from *ἀσχήμων.*

15. 1 For the tradition that Gregory of Nazianzus was of short stature cf. description by Olympius [*B.H.G.*³ I. 239] *Ἦν ὁ μακάριος τὸν σωματικὸν τύπον οὐ μέγας.*

2 *δογμάτων* with *οὐρανούς*, not *κάραν.*

7 *ἐνηγκάλισα* written *ἐνηγκάλησα* in the manuscript to indicate that the dichronous *-ι-* stood here for a long. The word *ἐναγκαλίζω* is not in *LSJ*. Presumably it means 'to put a thing into someone's arms' (cf. E. Mikkola, Die präpositionale Hypostase, Apostase und Metabase im Lateinischen, Griechischen und Altindischen, *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica*, N.S. 3 (1962), 45).

9 *κηρύττομεν.* Perhaps one should emend to *κηρύξομεν.*

16. 4 *οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑξάδος.* I am at a loss to understand this. Perhaps we should take —*οὐ γάρ*; — as a parenthetic question. But the significance of the hexad escapes me.

6 *ἔλλειψιν κτλ.*. Cf. Athanas. *Ar.* 1. 18 *τῶν γὰρ γενητῶν ἐστιν ἐλλείψεις ... καὶ προσθήκας δέχεσθαι*

10 *τρισήλιον.* Not in *LSJ*. But cf. Ps-Athanas. IV 76 *τρισήλιον φῶς.* *μοναρχία* in Byzantine Greek is almost always a theological term.

13 *ἀσύγχυτον.* For the technical use in theology cf. *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. C. i (c).

17 *ἄπατρις.* Substituted on metrical grounds for *ἀπάτωρ.* *Ἄπατρις* properly means 'without a country'. With this passage cf. *Ep. Hebr.* 7. 3 *ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ,*

16.18 διπλοῦς κτλ. = διπλοῦς ὢν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Cf. among other Patristic passages Justinian, *Confession*, *MPG* 86, 1003 A.

20 μέγα masculine. Cf. Psaltes, *op. cit.* 157 ; Reinhold, *De Graecitate patrum apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum novi testamenti quaestiones grammaticae*, 1898, 56.

From here to v. 32 the text of the poem paraphrases the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, 1897, 162-165) and the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed (*ibid.*, 266-269). The accusatives depend on πιστεύετε, v. 33.

21 Cf. Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ... καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.

23-24 Cf. Ps-Athanasian Creed, παθὼν μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα πάθη κατὰ σάρκα ... ἀπαθὴς δὲ διαμείνας καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος κατὰ τὴν θεότητα.

24 σάρκαν. Cf. 9.6 μητέραν and note. Here the form is used to avoid hiatus. The accusative is one of respect with βροτόν.

25 Cf. Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, σταυρωθέντα τε ... καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα.

καρτερηκότα. On unreduplicated perfect forms in Byzantine Greek cf. Psaltes, *op. cit.* 206-207 and literature there cited. It is no accident that most of the forms there cited are medio-passive participles, the only perfect forms surviving in demotic ; they were clearly in process of losing their reduplication from early Byzantine times. From them the unreduplicated perfect stem spread into the indicative and other forms preserved by the literary tradition. In the present passage metrical considerations determine the choice between reduplicated and unreduplicated forms.

26 Cf. Ps-Athanasian Creed, ἵνα τὸν θάνατον ἀνέλῃ διὰ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θανάτου.

τὸν θραύσαντα = τὸν διάβολον.

27 ἐκπηδηκότα cf. 25 above.

28-30 Cf. Ps-Athanasian Creed, ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὑψουμένην σάρκα.

29 ἐνθρονικότα. η for ι counted as long. τὴν θέωσιν is apparently a kind of internal accusative of result.

31 μεθ' ἧς sc. τῆς σαρκός. τε in a relative clause, not directly following the relative pronoun is very rare. Should we emend to γε?

32 εἰκότα. Adverbial, 'justly'. On replacement of adverbs in -ως by those in -α in mediaeval Greek cf. Psaltes, *op. cit.*, 341.

35 σύμβουλον δόλον. σύμβουλος must be adjectival.

38 ἀμφοῖν. Theory and practice, faith and works.

39 τὸν μέγα. Cf. v. 20 and note.

16.40 χαίροντες = joyously.

προῖκαν. cf. μητέραν v. 9. 6 and note.

44-45 A defence of icons which suggests that iconoclasm was still a force to be reckoned with.

17. 1 Ἑρμός. The river of Sardis, *Il.* 20, 392 etc. For the accentuation cf. Steph. Byz. p. 278 Heineke. Ἑρμοῦ πέδιον, interpreted wrongly as from Ἑρμῆς.

2 ἐκράτησεν. κρατέω = 'hold back, stop' is post-classical, and survives in the modern marine term κράτει = 'stop', etc.

ἴδε = εἶδε. Not so much an epic form, which our poet, like all Byzantine iambographers, avoids, but treatment of -ει- as dichronous, like -ι-: The spelling, which marks that the first syllable is treated as short, is due to the poet and not to the copyist.

6 ἐπικρατεῖ c. acc. is classical though rare. Cf. *LSJ* s. v. II 3.

18. 2 ὁ τὰς ἀβύσσους κτλ. = θεός, cf. Gen. 1, 6-7.

4 χρυσορητόρευτον. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, a remodelling of the common χρυσορρήμων ; ἀρρητόρευτος is cited from Synesius, Sopatros and Tzetzes. In Byzantine Greek compounds where second element begins with ρ- often show single -ρ- (cf. Psaltes, *op. cit.* 129-130), as there was no longer a phonological distinction between the double and single consonant. The choice is here determined by metre.

οὖν. A mere metrical stopgap with a proper name, and not a genuine connective particle in postponed position.

20. 1 θεολόγος in special sense of one with superior and more direct knowledge of God, as used by Philo of Moses, and in Christian literature of St John the Evangelist, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others.

2 στρατηγοί. 'Protectors', as in the proem to the Akathistos Hymnus, τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια.

3 Reading and meaning of this line are alike uncertain. μέδων would refer to the tradition that Dionysius was first Bishop of Athens.

4 εἰς χοροὺς ἀσωμάτων = εἰς οὐρανούς (v. 1).

5 ἄρρητα. Adverbial, cf. note on 16.32.

κύψας = ἐγκύψας. NB postponed τε.

7 εἰκόνας. Cf. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 1959, 301 « Hier (i.e. in John Damascene) ist die ganze Theologie zu einer Bildertheologie geworden. In Johannes triumphiert der Areopagite ».

8 οὐράνωσε. The earliest citation for οὐρανόω in *LSJ* is from Eustathius.

21. 2 δογματογράφος occurs as a political term in the Hellenistic and Roman world (cf *LSJ* s.v.), but does not seem to occur as a theological term in patristic Greek. Here it is a new formation to correspond to νομογράφος.

4 *θεοπτία*. Hesych. (probably from a pagan source), Eusebius, Basil, Epiphanius etc.

5 The manuscript reading gives a short syllable in the seventh place, but is ungrammatical. The obvious conjecture *τὴν* for *ἡ* breaks a metrical rule carefully observed by our poet elsewhere.

22. 1 *οὗτο* cf. 7.3.

23 Tit. All four saints are particularly connected with monastic life.

3 *τὴν μένουσαν εἰς τέλος*, emended by the commentator to *ἔχουσαν μὴ τέλος*, no doubt because he thought that the *δόξα* should have no *τέλος*.

4 *εἴληφα* is suspect. One expects a word meaning 'fashioned' or 'dedicated'. Dr. Panayotakis suggest *ἤλειψα*.

24. 1 *ἀνθοῦσι ... τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν*. *ἀνθέω* transitive seems not attested elsewhere.

2 † *λόγαι*. For the meaningless and unmetrical manuscript reading we want a substantive meaning 'wilderness' or the like parallel to *σπήλαια* and *ἔρημος*. *λόχμαι* is a possibility; but a poet who departs so often from the canons of literary Greek may have written *λογγαί*. The word, of course, is of Slavonic origin - O. Sl. *lǫgъ*. Bulg, *lъg* etc. giving rise to a variety of place-names in Greek. Cf. A. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* 1941, 311-312. The form **λογγά* is presupposed by the Modern Greek *λογγιά*, and by the place-name *Λογγά* (Vasmer 163).

φῶτα. The double accusative is strange and without close parallel. Probably we should read *φωτί*; but there are too many uncertainties in this line.

25. 5 Cf. Matth. 5.14 *ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*.

6 *οὐρανοδρόμοι* = 'reaching to heaven.' The only attestation cited by *LSJ* is Audollent, *Tabulae Defixionis* 41 B 5 (Megara s. i/ii), where it means 'running along the sky.' Cf. 28.22.

26 Tit. *τεσσεράκοντας*. Without parallel, so far as I know, and perhaps a slip of the copyist. For the story of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia cf. *BHG*[3] II 97-99.

2 *συγγεγήθω*. Probably not to be emended to *συγγέγηθα*. On formation of new presents from perfect stems cf. G. N. Hatzidakis, *op. cit.*, 3444: Psaltes, *op. cit.*, 245.

4-5 The distribution of the dialogue is clear to the end of v. 4, *τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ* belonging to the Martyrs, and *βαβαί* to the astonished enquirer. Thereafter things become difficult, and indeed it is hard to make anything of v. 5 as the text stands. I am convinced we should read *βαβαὶ δὲ τῆς εὐτολμίας*.

27. 3 *ἄνακτα*. Who is this, the emperor or the devil? If we keep *ἀέρι* it must be the latter, *ἀέρι* being a locatival dative and *στρατευμάτων* depending on *ἄνακτα*. But it is difficult to reconcile this with *γῆθεν*, and the dramatic point of the legend lies in the confrontation of emperor and martyrs.

Therefore *ἀέρι* is corrupt. We want a word meaning 'might' or the like; *ἰσχύι* is possible, but not the only possibility.

27. 7 *στοιχεῖα πορθῆσαι*, 'to overcome the elements.' Three, *ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ἀήρ* are mentioned by name, and *κρύος* must represent earth.

12 *συντρόφῳ*, i.e. its fellow-element fire; in the form of the bodily heat of the martyrs, resisting the cold of the lake.

δίκην = *ὡσεί*.

15 *φέρει* c. partic. on the analogy of its synonym *ἀνέχομαι*.

16 *τῷ θαμβουμένῳ*. Neuter substantivised participle = *τῷ θάμβει*.

28 Tit. It seems impossible to identify the site of this church. No church dedicated to St. Barnabas is mentioned in Andrea Caffi's historical appendix to Paulo Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria*, 1929, 241-330. Perhaps when the publication of the *Rationes Decimarum Italiae* reaches the formerly Byzantine areas of the south an examination of all dedications to St Barnabas will give the answer. In the meantime all one can suggest is that the dedication of a new church in a *πόλις* (v. 19) open to attack by the Arabs (vv. 21-23), and hence presumably on the coast, by a monk from Byzantine lands, is a likely phenomenon in the closing years of Basil I or the reign of Leo VI, when the successful military operations of Nicephorus Phocas were extending the area of Byzantine control in Italy; and that the most probable area is the north of Calabria, where the Byzantine church filled the vacuum left after the Arab withdrawal so effectively that the new episcopal diocese of Santa Severina was created in the reign of Leo VI. On these developments cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands*, 1904, 132 ff., 190; H. Grégoire, *La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas*, in: *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στ. Π. Κυριακίδην*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953, 232 ff.

3 *τοῖς πρωτοθρόνοις*, apparently of the Apostles, a usage for which I find no parallel. Mrs. P. Karlin-Hayter suggests tentatively that this may be a reference to the legend of Barnabas as *συνέκδημος Πέτρου* and to Peter as evangeliser of Cappadocia. The syntax is not clear. The commentator glosses it *σὺν τοῖς πρωτοθρόνοις*, which makes good sense but questionable grammar.

4 *διδασκάλῳ κρατοῦντι κτλ.* Are these dative participles from *κρατοῦντι* to *δείξαντι* parallel to *μαθητεύσαντι* or governed by it? In the former case they refer to Barnabas, in the second presumably to Christ. The latter seems to be the correct interpretation, though the jump from *μαθητεύσαντι* to the following participles is stylistically awkward. *κρατοῦντι πνοῶν τὰς πύλας* must refer to *Luke* 8. 25 *τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῷ ὕδατι*; The short first syllable of *πνοῶν* in the position of a long

is contrary to the practice of our poet. Should we rearrange the words, e.g. *πνοῶν κρατοῦντι τὰς πύλας διδασκάλῳ*, as suggested by Panayotakis?

28. 5 *ὀφρύος λόγῳ*. Cf. 7.5 *τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἰσχύος*. The expression is a reminiscence of II Mac. 8.18 *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ, δυναμένῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ἑνὶ νεύματι καταβαλεῖν.*

9 *προεδρεύσαντι τὴν Ἀντιόχου*. Cf. *Acts* 11.23-26. *προεδρεύω* followed by accusative on the analogy of *διοικῶ, κυβερνῶ* etc.

13 *πάντα* Adverbial.

διδασκάλῳ is here presumably Paul.

15 *θείοις τε τῶν ἀκηράτων* parallel to *αὐτῷ*.

16-17 *καλῶς κεκλημένε παρακαλεσμοῦ παιδίον*. Cf. *Acts* 4.36 *Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρνάβας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Υἱὸς Παρακλήσεως*. *παρακαλεσμός* seems to be a demotic form selected because the literary *παράκλησις* could not be made to fit the metre. Dimitrakos, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, quotes the following nominal forms from the stem *καλεσ-*: *παρακαλεσία, παρακάλεση, παρακάλε(σ)μα, παρακαλεστής, παρακαλεστός, καλεσμός*. The Greek version of Boccacio's *Teseide* 1.1.7 has *λοιπὸν ἀκούσετε κ' ἐμὲν τοῦ παρακαλεμοῦ μου*; is this a printer's error for *παρακαλεσμοῦ*? Dr Panayotakis tells me that *παρακαλεμοῦ* is a legitimate demotic form.

18 *εἰς τὴν Ἐδὲμ* for *ἐν τῇ Ἐδέμ*.

21 *τῶν βαρβάρων ἐθνῶν* contrasted with the *χριστεπώνυμον γένος* can refer only to the Arabs, and not to the Lombards.

22 *θεοβράβευτον* cf. Cedren. I 741.

οὐρανοδρόμον. Cf. 25.6 and note.

26 *αἰτήσεως* with *ἰσχύϊ*.

27 *εὐθυοδρόμῳ* is an abnormal formation from a *υ*-stem. But the many compounds in *ἰχθυο-* and perhaps such aberrant forms as *εὐρυοδίνης* in an oracle cited by Strabo enabled our poet to treat it as a legitimate metrical variant.

28 An awkward line: *εἰρήνης* is governed by *μονὰς*; *μόνας* scarcely adds anything to the meaning, but is employed for the play on words.

29. 2 *τῷ ταφέντι*. Instrumental dative.

3 *μέσον* 'inside.' Cf. Hatzidakis, *op. cit.*, 229. This is the first stage towards the formation of the Modern Greek *μέσα*.

SCHOLARSHIP AND EDUCATION

IX

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF A TENTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE SCHOLAR (*)

Students of the history of the Byzantine empire during the first half of the tenth century — roughly speaking, the reigns of Leo VI, Constantine VII, and Romanus Lecapenus — are fortunate in that there survive several collections of letters from that period which supplement and correct the narrative sources. Some of these collections are edited in readily accessible publications (1). Others have been edited indeed, but in periodicals which are not always easy to come by (2). Others again have been edited only in part or not at all (3). To this last category belongs the collection

(*) Since this paper was sent to the press I have learned that Mr. Basileios Laourdas of the University of Salonica is also working on these letters. His study, which is principally concerned with the writer's knowledge of classical literature, will appear in *'Αθηνᾶ* 59 (1954) pp. 176-197. We hope to publish the complete text of the letters jointly in due course.

(1) Letters of Leo Choerosphactes in G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice*, Athens, 1939, 76-129; letters of Nicolaus Mysticus in Migne, *P.G.*, 111, 27-392 (further letters of Nicolaus edited by I. Sakkelion, *Deltion*, 3 (1890-92) 108-16; Id., *Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens, 1890, 279-88; S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 21 (1927) 3-29).

(2) Examples are the letters of Romanus Lecapenus, edited by I. Sakkelion, *Deltion*, 1 (1883-4) 657-66, 2 (1885) 38-48, 385-409; letters of Theodore Daphnopates, edited by I. Sakkelion, *loc. cit.*; letters of Theodore of Cyzicus, edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 19 (1925) 269-96, 20 (1926) 31-46, 139-157; letters of Theodore of Nicaea, edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 16 (1922) 476-7 (cf. also Spyridon Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, 1925, 357); letters of Nicetas Magister, edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 19 (1925) 29-33, 139-91; letters of Leo of Synnada, edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 20 (1926) 324-342; letters of Bardas Monachus, edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 21 (1927) 136-41.

(3) Of particular importance are the letters of Arethas of Caesarea, of which a part only has been published by J. Compernass, *Didaskaleion*, 1 (1912) 295-318, 2 (1913) 95-100, 181-206, S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 13 (1916-17) 205-10, S. P.

of letters of an unknown writer contained in British Museum Additional Manuscript 36749, s. x. While this corpus cannot have the interest of the correspondence of such men as Arethas, Leo Choerosphactes, and Nicolaus Mysticus, who stood at the centre of affairs, it may yet be of some value both to prosopographers and to students of Byzantine education and culture. The present paper is devoted to a study of the collection and the publication of a selection of the letters.

A. — The Manuscript

Cod. Lond. Brit. Mus. Add. 36749 is a vellum manuscript of the late tenth century, 7" × 5½", of 331 leaves, preceded by two fly-leaves and followed by a single fly-leaf. Foll. 287-331 are written on paper by a fifteenth century hand, evidently in replacement of the original tenth century text. The contents are as follows :

1. Epistles of Gregory of Nazianzus, incomplete at the beginning, incip. *ἅμα δίδαξον καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ συνεπιψηφίζειν* (ep. 183, Migne, *P.G.*, 37. 300C) Foll. 2-122 ; fol. 122v is blank (1).

2. Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, incip. *Γρηγορίου πόνος εἰμί, τετράστιχον δὲ φυλάσσω γνώμαις πν(ευματ)ικαῖς μνημόσυνον σοφίης.* Foll. 123-31.

3. Poems of Leo Magister Choerosphactes, incip. *στί(χοι) Λέοντος μαγίστρου ἡμιαμβικοὶ ἤγουν δίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι εἰς τὰ ἐν Πυθίοις θερμά : ἡ δὲ προσφώνησις πρὸς τὸν νέον Αὔγουστον Κωνσταντ(ῖνον).* Foll. 131^{v}-35 (2).

Shestakov, *Byzantinoslavica*, 1 (1929) 161-3, A. Sonny, *Philol.*, 54 (1895) 182, M. A. Shangin, *Viz. Vrem.*, 1 (1947) 242-3 ; other collections which still await publication are those of Alexander of Nicaea and of Theodore, Patrician and Sacellarius, both contained in cod. Patm. 706.

(1) On this portion of the manuscript cf. G. Przychocki, *De Gregorii Nazianzi epistularum codicibus Britannicis* (Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział filologiczny 50) Kraków, 1912, 230-1 ; Id., *Historia listów św. Grzegorza z Nazjanzu* (Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział filologiczny 57.3) Kraków, 1946, 23. It is a twin of cod. Laur. gr. 4.14, s. x.

(2) On the first of these poems, hitherto falsely attributed to Paulus Silentiarius, cf. S. G. Mercati, *Intorno all' autore del carme εἰς τὰ ἐν Πυθίοις*

4. Collection of 122 anonymous letters, incip. *Ἀναστασίῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Ἡρακλείας κ(αὶ) οἰκο(νόμῳ).* Fol. 135^{v}-232 ; fol. 232^{v} is blank.

5. The Commentary of Hierocles of Alexandria on the *Χρυσᾶ Ἔπη* attributed to Pythagoras, incip. *Ἱεροκλέους φιλοσόφου εἰς τὰ Πυθαγορικὰ ἔπη τὰ ὄντως ἐπικαλούμενα χρυσᾶ. ἡ φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν καὶ ζωῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κάθαρσις καὶ τελειότης.* Foll. 233-330^{v} (1).

The writing is in a single column, except for certain of the poems, with twenty lines to the page. Items 1-4 and the first part of item 5 (foll. 233-86^{v}) are in the same hand, a good tenth century minuscule, written in brown ink on the ruled line, with titles in uncials ; the appearance of the hand changes somewhat here and there, e.g. fol. 201, 223, 224, perhaps because the scribe was pressed for time. The second part of item 5 (foll. 287-330) is in a fifteenth century hand, in thin black ink, with lemmata in red ; it is set out on the page in the same way as the earlier portion. A colophon in red ink in the same hand on fol. 330^{v} reads : *Ἐγὼ Ἄγγελος Καλαβρὸς τοῦ Φιλλέτη ἱερομόναχος τῆς μεγάλης μονῆς τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀνεπλήρωσα τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους εἰς τὰ χρυσᾶ ἔπη τοῦ Πυθαγόρου.* This scribe is not listed by M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909.

The ruling is the Lakes' type I.2.e.

The original portion of the manuscript is in gatherings of eight folios, with signatures, apparently in the same hand as the text, in the top left recto at the beginning and the bottom left verso at the end of each gathering. Foll. 1-5 are the remains of gathering 5, the signature of which was on a missing leaf between fol. 5 and fol. 6, of which traces are still visible. Thereafter gatherings 6 to 38, comprising foll. 6-280, are intact. Foll. 281-6 contain the remains of gatherings 39 and 40 ; at least two leaves are missing between fol. 284 and 285. There are no signatures in the fifteenth century portion, which is also in gatherings of eight folios.

θερμά, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 10 (1924) 210-48. The four succeeding poems, on foll. 134-5, were edited from this manuscript by G. Kolias, *op. cit.*, 130-2.

(1) This text is to be found in F. W. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, I, Paris, 1860, 416-84.

Several hands have made occasional corrections to the original portion. Of these only two are found in foll. 135v-232, of which one is probably that of the original scribe, while the other writes in a spidery and inexpert hand, difficult to date, in thin brown ink. The last few leaves of the original portion are badly rubbed and damaged by damp. Faded portions of the text on these leaves, and occasionally elsewhere in item 5, have been written over by the hand of the second portion.

The present binding is modern, but a portion of an older binding is preserved, of tooled leather perhaps of the seventeenth century. The manuscript has been trimmed in the process of binding, and there are still traces of writing at the top of fol. 135v, where the general heading of the collection of letters, doubtless including the name of the author, has been cut away.

Fol. I. contains a list of the contents of the manuscript in a sixteenth-century Italian hand, as follows : « Gregorii Epistolae acephalae ; Eiusdem aliquot sententiae Tetrasticho absolutae ; Eiusdem exhortatio ad suã ãiam ; Epistolae anonymae ; Hieroclis Philosophi opusculum super aurea carmina Pythagorae ». It appears that already in the sixteenth century the manuscript was incomplete at the beginning, and the binder's guillotine had cut away the title of item 4.

Fol. 331 is an originally loose paper leaf bound into the manuscript, bearing the following text in Spanish in a hand probably of the seventeenth century : « Compieza este códice desde cazca del fin de la epist. 225 de las impresas, pagin. 912, lin. 5a a fine v. *ἀναδίδαξον* ».

The manuscript was bought by the British Museum from B. Quaritch on 13th January 1903 for forty Pounds.

B. — The Letters

It is with item 4 in the manuscript that the present paper is concerned. It comprises 122 letters, numbered in the outer margin from 1 to 130 (there are many errors in the numeration). This numeration, unlike that of the letters of Gregory of Nazianzus, does not appear to be by the same hand as the text, or in the same ink. The general heading, it will be recalled, has been trimmed off by a binder. Most of the letters are preceded by the name — and

sometimes the title — of the addressee, but five (ep. 22, 29, 42, 47, 75) have no address. Ep. 97 is a repetition of ep. 23, with only trivial variations.

In the Museum Catalogue (1) the collection is described as « probably specimens of dictamen, but addressed, it would seem, to real persons ». P. Maas (2) refers to « ein Brief des Leon Magistros » as contained in this manuscript. This is no doubt an oversight. S. G. Mercati (3), who examined the manuscript, recognised that what he had before him was a corpus of letters of an unknown personage of the first half of the tenth century. The intention which he then expressed of editing the letters, together with other collections of Byzantine letters dating from the same period, has unfortunately not been carried out. The latest scholar to study the letters was Gennadios Metropolitan of Heliopolis and Theira (G. M. Arabatzoglou), who edited the text of five of the letters, and urged that the whole collection be published (4). Unfortunately, neither of his papers seems to be available in any library in England (5). M. Richard, in his *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*, Paris, 1952, 65, refers to the collection as « Epistulae CXXII anonymae quarum auctor floruisse videtur tempore Constantini VII Porphyrogeneti ».

As it is not at present practicable — and perhaps scarcely worth while in any case — to publish such a long text in its entirety, I propose to list the letters in the orders in which they appear in the manuscript, giving the address, the beginning, and a summary of the contents of each. This will serve as a basis for the

(1) *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV*. London, 1907, 207.

(2) *Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Kirchenvätern und Sophisten I. Drei neue Stücke aus der Korrespondenz des Gregorios von Nyssa*, *Sb. Berlin*, 1912, 989, n. 3.

(3) *Op. cit.*, 218-20.

(4) Gennadios of Heliopolis, *Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη* II, Istanbul, 1935, 108-12, 251-3 ; Id., *Ὀρθοδοξία* (Istanbul) 16 (1941) 133-6, 158-60.

(5) Since this article was sent to the press I have been enabled, through the kindness of Professor R. J. H. Jenkins, to consult a copy of *Ὀρθοδοξία* 16. Gennadios there edits the text of ep. 63, 69, 73, 85, and 91. As this periodical is not easily accessible, and as the text printed by Gennadios is not entirely accurate, I have thought it best to leave the Appendix to the present paper unchanged. I am still unable to find a copy of the *Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη*, in which it appears that the text of ep. 1 was published.

discussion of questions of prosopography and chronology which arise, and for an attempt to reconstruct something of the life and activity of the author. As an appendix, I shall edit the text of a selection of the letters, including most of those whose addressees are otherwise known to history. Apart from any intrinsic interest which it may have, this selection will serve to illustrate the author's style.

C. — Summary

The letters are numbered consecutively. Where the number of a letter in the manuscript is different from its consecutive number, the manuscript number appears in brackets.

1. *Ἀναστασίῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Ἡρακλείας κ(αὶ) οἰκο(νόμῳ).* f. 135v
Incip. *Εἴ τις ὠφέλεια τοῖς ἐξ προσεγένετο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*
« If the church derives any profit from withholding my rations for six months, may it continue to do so. If not, I ask you as a bishop and a friend of learning to have them restored to me ».

2. *Μανουὴλ κουβουκλε(ισίῳ) κ(αὶ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ)* f. 135v-136
Incip. *Ἡ κατάνευσις ἐχέτω καὶ τὴν κατάπραξιν*
« May the favour you have granted me be carried into effect, as befits your honourable character ».

3. *Ἰω(άννῃ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) κ(αὶ) κουβουκλε(ισίῳ).* f. 136
Incip. *Ἡ παιδεία τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν παρρησίαν χαρίζεται*
« I should like to meet you, since you are a friend of learning ».

4. *Θεοδώ(ρῳ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ).* f. 136-137
Incip. *Τότε κρίνονται αἱ μέχρι λόγων ὑποσχέσεις*
« Promises which are not kept are worthless. You cannot plead inability to keep the promise you made to me. And the objections of a third party need carry no weight with you, since what you have promised is due to God ».

5. *Θεοδό(τῳ) κουβικλ(εισίῳ).* f. 137-137v
Incip. *Μεγάλην δοκιμάζων εἶναι τὴν τῆς καρδίας σου πρόθεσιν*
« I am grateful for your kindness, by which you have ensured that my efforts were not in vain. Please accept this little book of mine. Do not reject it because I am a teacher, or because the writing is faulty. You can select what is best from it ».

6. *Βασιλ(ίῳ) σπαθ(αρίῳ) κουβικλ(εισίῳ).* f. 137v
Incip. *Οὐχ ὅτι τῆς χολῆς ἐξείργῃ φροντίζομεν*
« I am sorry that I do not know what has caused your anger to pass ».

7. *Φιλητῷ διακό(νῳ) κ(αὶ) κουβουκ(λεισίῳ).* f. 137v-138
Incip. *Τὸ κατεπεῖγον παρακαλεῖν οὐκ εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποτελεσθὲν*
« See the man, sympathise with him, and help him. You will thus be doing a favour to me and to yourself ».

8. *Σοφίᾳ δεσποίνῃ.* f. 138-138v
Incip. *Ἕτερά τινα ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐντυπῶσαι τῇ γραφῇ παρεσκευάζετο νοῦς*
« I had intended to write a letter more fitting to one free from all passion. And you former rank dissuaded me from speaking my mind : but your virtue prevailed against this. Now your misfortune moves me to write as I do. Remember that your daughter was mortal, and departed this life blameless. It was the will of God. I can say no more. God knows my gratitude for the book, which I meant to express in my letter. »

9. *Στεφάνῳ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) κ(αὶ) μαθητ(ῇ).* f. 138v-139v
Incip. *Ἡ γραφὴ ἄλλων ἐζήτει λόγων ἀρχὴν*
« I should have preferred to write a letter more becoming to writer, recipient, and listeners. But I am obliged against my will to touch on this subject. My grief is increased by the fact that you are its cause. You wish me to continue teaching without my fee. I am sure you will realise your mistake and correct it. »

10. *Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) κ(αὶ) μεγάλ(ῳ) κουράτ(ορι)* (1). f. 139v
Incip. *Πρὸς γράμμασιν ἐντεθραμμένον ἦν ἡ ἐπιστολή*
« My letter was written as to a man of learning, but it charged you with neglect of your teacher. If you are a man of honour you will not grieve your teacher. »

11. *Στεφάνῳ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ).* f. 139v-140
Incip. *Ἔγραψα τὸν χρηστὸν εἰδὼς Στέφανον*
« I wrote knowing that you were a friend of learning. I thought

(1) Cf. *ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ*, etc., Benešević, *Die byzantinischen Ranglisten*, *B.N.J.*, 5 (1926-7) 128-9. On this office cf. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 9), Leipzig, 1927, 39-41.

that perhaps your father was responsible for my fees not being paid. As a friend, please repair your omission, and persuade your father. »

12. *᾽Εφραὶμ μοναχῷ.* f. 140-141

Incip. *Οἷς μὲν ἐρήμους τῆς σῆς ἀναστροφῆς ἑαυτοὺς βλέπομεν*

« I blame the causes which have made you leave me, but recognize that you were right to do so. It was better that you should go. To continue to live together with me would have given you pain. Continue in the life that pleases you. Write to us and think of us. I am glad to have good news of you, and still hope to see you again. »

13. *Θεοδώρῳ βασιλ(ικῷ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ).* f. 141-141v

Incip. *῾Ο λογισμὸς μέν, ἐπειδὴ μηδαμοῦ εὕρισκε μέχρι τῶν χρηστῶν ἵστασθαι*

« I did not think you would behave so well. I knew your good character, but thought myself unworthy of your favour. I am glad to be found wrong. Continue in this course. »

14 (13). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 141v

Incip. *῏Η ὑγιαίνων ὀλιγωρίας ἢ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχων ἀκηδίας*

« If you are well, you are guilty of contempt of me, if ill, of despondency. I hope the former is the case. »

15 (14). *᾽Αρσενίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ.* f. 141v-142

Incip. *Πλείω γράφειν οὐκ ἔχοντες*

« It seems that you have forgotten me, perhaps because of your elevation to high office, to judge from your long silence. I hope you are well, and not angry with me. »

16 (15). *᾽Ιω(άννῃ).* f. 142

Incip. *Καὶ χρυσὸν πῦρ καὶ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν ὁποῖος ἀρχή.*

« If high office has not spoiled you, do a favour to me, your friend. Do not make excuses, for no man knows what the future holds. »

17 (16). *Τῷ καντρισίῳ* (1). f. 142-143v

Incip. *Αὔραις τὸ συμβὰν δεδόσθαι βουλόμενοι*

« I would have preferred the matter to be forgotten. That

(1) On the Patriarchal *canstrisius* (castrensis) cf. L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1949, 505 ; Beneševič, *op. cit.*, 130.

being impossible, I desired not to answer slander with slander. I tried to be reconciled with you, and made overtures, both myself and through others, which you spurned. I closed eyes and ears to your insults, when I was called a boor and a vagrant, grieving only for you, that you had spoken thus. You were mollified, but have again become angry with me. Why? Consider the triviality of my offence, the length of time your anger has endured, our positions, the shortness of life, and the fickleness of fortune. Remember the words of your daily prayer, and think of the last judgment. Curb your proud heart. Do not let so many suns set on your wrath. »

18 (17). *Καλλικλεῖ.* f. 143v

Incip. *᾽Αφορμῆς προκειμένης οὐδεμιᾶς*

« A brief letter is enough to express my wish that you may enjoy good health and happiness. »

19 (18). *Πέτρῳ ἀσηκρῆτις καὶ μαίστωρι.* f. 144-145v

Incip. *᾽Αεὶ φέρει τι Λιβύη κακόν*

« A new insult crowns my misfortunes. But study of the *πατρικὸν γράμμα* shows me that I am not entirely committed to silence. Your advice is good, and in accordance with it I should prefer silence. But I would rather answer him who slanders me. How can you make light of such a matter? How can you give me such advice on how to meet him? All this is airy fantasy. I cannot give way to his pride. If he claims that someone else prompted his conduct, I shall warn him against listening to busybodies, and suggest that he accept the advice of our common teacher. »

20 (19). *᾽Αρσενίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ.* f. 145v-146

Incip. *῾Η τοῦ σοῦ ἀνάπτυξις γράμματος*

« Your letter explains the reasons for your long silence, and shows that you had not forgotten me. Your spiritual father the bishop had already assured me of this. I shall never forget you. This is my third letter to you. Greetings from Ephraim and the *ἔκκριτοι* of the school. »

21 (20). *᾽Ορέστῃ χαρτοφύλακι* (1). f. 146-146v

Incip. *᾽Επεὶ μὴ ὁ πραγμάτων σε ὄχλος ἐᾷ.*

« Since you are too busy to polish up the composition, send

(1) On this office cf. L. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, 501-3.

it back to me, its author. I shall not publish it until it is ready. I am grateful that you have been able to look at it. »

22 (21). No Address. f. 146v

Incip. *Κἂν μὴ χρόνος ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαίωσεν*

« I know from experience that my requests to you are not in vain. Indeed, one meeting would be enough to give a man confidence in you. So I am sure that you will carry out my present request, and without delay. »

23 (22). *Πέτρῳ ἀσηκρῆτ(ις) κ(αὶ) μαίστ(ωρι).* f. 146v-147

Incip. *Μικροῦ καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἥλων ἐγκλήματι*

« I have nearly become a misanthrope, with as good reason as Timon. If you thought I was responsible for our friend's poverty, why did you not condemn me. If not, why did you not help him. You are wrong in thinking me responsible. Do not lay too heavy a burden on your son. »

24 (23). *Λέοντι σακελλαρίῳ* (1). f. 147-148v

Incip. *Ὠνίους ὡς ἔοικε μάζης ἡμᾶς ὑπολογισάμενος*

« You seem to think I need only the simplest of fare. But my simple tastes are forced upon me. You are usually a fair judge, but in the matter of the *ἐκλογή* you are unfair to me. I did not ask back any of what I had invested, but waited until you had reached high office at last. Do not now begrudge your teacher his due. I shall praise you if you show me favour. »

25 (24). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 148v-149v

Incip. *Οὐκ εἶχέ τι τῶν σπουδῆς ἀξίων ἡ πρώτη ἐπιστολή*

« My first letter, in light vein, produced no result. Do not neglect this letter because I cannot bribe you. You know yourself what I need, without my telling you. And in any case, the bearer will tell you the nature of my request. If you do not accede to it, or if you delay, I shall continue to press you. »

26 (25). *Θεοδώρῳ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) τῷ μυστικῷ* (2). f. 149v-150v

Incip. *Καὶ τῆς τῶν μειζόνων χωρὶς πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς εὖ*

« I am sure you will be willing to help me, and I approach you

(1) On this office, cf. p. 429 below.

(2) On this office cf. L. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, 142, 152, 167. The *mysticus* has the rank of *protospatharius* in the Tactica cited by Beneševič, *op. cit.*, 128, 151-2.

with confidence, knowing how ready you are to help all in need. For seventeen years I have had to maintain many of my relations, since the *οἰκουμενικὴ συμφορά*. Do what you think is possible now, and do not forget the rest. The bearer will tell you more.

27 (26). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 150v-151v

Incip. *Καταπείθει τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει*

« Ties of kinship make me press my request with unusual importunity. This natural affection can overcome our other natural characteristics. I am glad to have found one like you to realise my prayers, and I shall continue to invoke your aid. »

28 (27). *Πέτρῳ νοτ(αρίῳ) τοῦ μυστικοῦ.* f. 151v

Incip. *Ἐπέσταλταί σοι τὸ γράμμα, φίλη ψυχή*

« I have sent the letter. Now is the time to use your good office, in accordance with your good character. The day which will vindicate me is at hand. Say and do what is needful. »

29 (28). No Address. f. 151v-152

Incip. *Οὔτε πρὸς πτῆσιν ἀετὸς διδαχῆς, οὔτε πρὸς νῆξιν δεῖται δελφίς*

« With you I can be brief in indicating my needs, since you can imagine them for yourself. A humble scholar's lodging and my servant suffice me. Help us by your words at the judgement, and do not forget your rhetoric altogether. »

30 (29). *Τῷ κανστρισίῳ.* f. 152-157v

Incip. *Πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐμοῦντι μανίαν*

« For five years you have been attacking me savagely, although you are my own pupil. Throughout this time I have tried to effect a reconciliation, both myself and through friends, but entirely in vain. This you cannot deny. Unable to bear your attacks, I tried the trick concerning apostasy, because I did not wish you to be able to reject all my overtures as mere demands for *θρεπτήρια*. But it was followed by hostility of pupils and friends.

How will you answer for all this at the day of judgement? I have long ago made up for any fault on my part. The laws of God forbid you to bear malice thus. Why has time not mollified you? You should have followed the advice of friends and at least greeted me formally. Instead, you are alienating my pupils and impugning my professional ability, and comparing me unfavourably with another. This causes disturbance in both our schools. Are

you not ashamed to scandalise the young thus? If it is of any advantage to you, I shall gladly proclaim myself inferior to my colleague. Only stop sowing enmity between us. Those who know the works of both of us will be unimpressed. They will know that you are moved only by hatred. You attack me with vile language even in the church during the eucharist. Accept a reconciliation while we are both still alive, and can repent our errors. If you will not do that, at least leave me alone, and sing my colleague's praises if you wish, but not at my expense. Our religion enjoins reconciliation upon us. Give me a chance to write again. »

31 (30). *Τῷ πατριάρχῃ.* f. 157v
Incip. *Τὸ δουλικὸν δῶρον μικρὸν*
« My gift is little, but my love great. »

32 (31). *Γρηγορίῳ.* f. 157v-158
Incip. *Τί μὴ τὸ φρόνημα ταπεινὸν φαινόμενος ἔχειν*
« Your humble spirit should be matched by humility of conduct. You should be influenced by me rather than by others who have no care for you and no claim upon you. »

33 (32). *Λέοντι.* f. 158-158v
Incip. *Οὐκ οἶδα τίσι χρησάμενος ῥήμασι*
« I may be speaking to deaf ears, but I shall speak none the less. How could you leave me thus, though I have done you no wrong? If you allege your suspicion of my companion, you show yourself quite unreasonable. Take care lest you harm only yourself. »

34 (33). *Ἰω(άννῃ) κ(αὶ) Πέτρῳ βα(σιλικοῖς) κληρικ(οῖς) ἐν ἐξορίᾳ οὖσιν.* f. 158v-160v
Incip. *Γράφειν βούλομαι μέν, δεύτερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ποθούντων ἴδιον*
« I hesitate to write to you, lest I increase your grief. Yet I am sure that my letter will bring consolation. You are grieved because you have been unjustly expelled from palace and city. But it is better to be punished unjustly than justly. Life is full of trials. And your friends have not forgotten you. God will not allow you to be tried beyond your strength. Scripture and pagan history alike should strengthen your resolution. Put your trust in God. »

35 (34). *Τοῖς αὐτοῖς.* f. 160v-161v
Incip. *Κυβερνήτ(ης) ἐκεῖνος θαυμάζετ(αι)*
« It is in times of trial that a man's worth is shown. Do not yield to the temptation to utter unbecoming words. But encourage one another with scriptural examples. »

36 (35). *Μιχαὴλ μαΐστωρι.* f. 161v-162
Incip. *Φροντὶς ἡμῖν οὐδεμία περὶ τοῦ δεῖνος*
« I care nothing for your detachment of my pupils, which you execute both yourself and through others. You have no shame at conduct which is quite unchristian. If you did not influence those students to come to you, you could at least have written to me. You cannot plead ignorance. »

37 (36). *Κωνσταντίνῳ βεστήτορι* (1) *μαθητῇ.* f. 162-163
Incip. *Σκιᾷ ἡμῖν ἴσα καπνοῦ τὰ ὑμέτερα*
« I care nothing for you. I cannot flatter like you, and I will not defend myself against your charges. The criticism of fools leaves me unmoved. Your accusations are without foundation. I confidently await the verdict of a just judge. You may prefer pupil to teacher if you like. »

38 (37). *Χριστοφό(ρῳ) βα(σιλικῷ) κλη(ρικῷ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) τῆς Νέας Ἐκκλησίας.* f. 163-163.
Incip. *Ὡς τί τοῦτό σοι τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ ὄντι μοίρας προτέθειται*
« You threaten to withdraw your nephew. This will neither grieve me nor arouse me. I cannot work miracles. But your nephew will make progress if you help. »

39 (38). *Τῷ αὐτῷ ἀντεπιστείλαντι.* f. 163v-164v
Incip. *Καὶ τί ἂν ἄλλο δεινὸς ἐξεργάσεται ῥήτωρ*
« Like the orator you are, you refuted my arguments. So I must write this second letter, and answer you with the weapons of rhetoric. Your own charges are valid against yourself. The suggestion that you will not pay my fee until the work is finished is unworthy of you. It is only natural that your nephew was subdued on first coming to a new school. »

(1) On this office cf. L. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, 131 ; J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris, 1930, I, 81-9.

40 (39). *Τῷ πρωτοασηκρῆτις* (1). f. 164^{v}-165^{v}

Incip. *Οὐκ ἐλέου προβολῇ ὅτι μηδ' ἔλεον θηρῶμαι*

« I know that I am writing to a man of learning, who realises that affairs of state will be mismanaged if men like me are neglected. If a man of your position, therefore, has deigned to notice learning, and to prefer my pupil to others, you will have the teacher too as your servant. I am sure he will deserve your praise. »

41 (40). *Θεοφίλῳ ἀσηκρῆτις.* f. 165^{v}-166

Incip. *Εἰ μὴ τῷ μὴ ὁρατῷ περιπλανῶμαι τὸν νοῦν*

« I know your good character both by hearsay and by experience. Why therefore have you turned against me? Listen to good advice and be reconciled. When you are older you may be in a position of authority yourself. »

42 (41). No Address. f. 166^{v}

Incip. *Κἂν τὸ θεᾶσθαί σε τοῖς σωματικοῖς οὐκ ἦν πως ὀφθαλμοῖς*

« I am glad to hear good news of you in your absence, and to correspond with you. »

43 (42). *Ἐπιφανίῳ διακόνῳ.* f. 166^{v}-169

Incip. *Βραδὺς ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ κατακούειν διαβολῶν*

« I do not readily listen to slander ; experience has taught me how men mislead the credulous. My enemies have made many accusations against me. But I was surprised to find that you, who know the truth about me, listened to them, especially since you recently professed to reject them. If you have changed your views, tell me why. If not, please use your good offices with the *canstrisius*. I am convinced that his hatred of me is caused by the slanders of others. Use Biblical quotations and supplication to move him. If this is in vain, at least refuse yourself to listen to slanders against your old teacher. »

(1) On this office cf. L. Bréhier, *op. cit.*, 167. The addressee of this letter is probably to be identified with Euthymius protasecretis, addressee of ep. 108. But we know of one other holder of the office at this period who was also a man of letters, viz. Theodorus protasecretis, author of a biography of Theophanes Confessor, written between 920 and 929. Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes*, *Sb. München*, 1896, IV, 583-625.

44 (43). *Τῷ κανστρισίῳ.* f. 169-170

Incip. *Πείθειν ὁ τῶν πολλῶν βιάζεται λόγος*

« I am sorry that you remain unmoved by my pleas and by those of others. As a man of culture, read my letter and put aside your anger. We shall both soon be dead. Let us be reconciled before that. »

45 (44). *Θεοδοσίῳ μοναχῷ.* f. 170-170^{v}

Incip. *Ἐλύπησεν ἡμᾶς ἀλλ' οὐκ εὔφρανε τὸ γράμμα τὸ σόν*

« Your letter brought mingled joy and sorrow, sorrow because I have been unable to carry out your request. I gave your friend's letter to its addressee, and added my own support. He respects you, and is grieved that he cannot easily do what you ask. I am sure that he will find some way. And I shall continue to press him. »

46 (45). *Δαμιανῷ σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ι)δ(άτῳ).* f. 170^{v}-171^{v}

Incip. *Ἔκαμον, λογιώτατε, λόγους ὑπέχων πολλοῖς*

« I have been under severe attack, and many have turned against me. Nowadays people have no principles, and set their sails to the prevailing wind. I have never failed in my duty to a pupil. As a man of education and reputation, I ask you to bear witness in my favour. »

47 (46). No Address. f. 171^{v}-174

Incip. *Μέχρι μὲν ἐλπὶς ὑπῆρχε προσλήψεως μείζονος*

« So long as hope of greater things remained, failure was bearable to me. But when I asked for what some of my pupils easily obtained, and failed to get it, I decided on this last attempt. My neighbour is my enemy. He has turned my pupils against me, and sent them to the school of another teacher, spoiling thereby our friendly relations. He sends his agents after me to win over my pupils and silence my friends. This has been going on for three years. I am afraid he may even have poisoned your mind against me. Recently he slandered me before my own teacher. He attacks my works, neglecting those that are good, in order to prejudice my teacher against me. Please settle the matter justly, free me from this persecution, and restore to me my pupils. »

48 (47). *Εὐσταθ(ίῳ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ).* f. 174-174^{v}

Incip. *Ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐστὶν τοῦτο ἀσθένειαν*

« It is too great a compliment for one of your rank and di-

gnity to visit me, caring nothing for what people say. But your good character is borne out by your action. »

49 (48). *Ἰωάννῃ.* f. 174^v-176^v
Incip. *Ἕως μὲν ἡ τῶν Παφλαγόνων μέχρι λόγων ἐπιθυμία προσῆν*
« I was surprised that you actually carried out your professed intention of going to Paphlagonia. However, even then I thought that after having had a holiday you would return. I was grieved to be told by your father that you were not coming back. You will not stand the hot summer. You are abandoning your parents. In your weak health you will give no pleasure to your hosts there. Yet, if you must go, may all go well with you, and may you return to us some day. »

50 (49). *Νικολάῳ κουβουκλει(σίῳ) κ(αὶ) σκευοφύλ(ακι) τῆς Νέας.* f. 176^v
Incip. *Δυσαπάλλακτος ἡ κακία, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον βραδεῖά πως μεταβολή*
« It is easier to turn from good to evil than the reverse. Since you have spurned the many and elected to do the will of God, I admire you and retain my affection for you. I did not think that you still preserved all your old affection for me. »

51 (50) *Μιχαὴλ μαΐστωρι.* f. 177-181
Incip. *Ὑπεστειλάμην ἂν τὴν γραφήν, εἰ φανερὰν ὁρᾶν*
« I should have refrained from writing had I thought our friendship completely ended. Your protestations of continuing friendship are not borne out by your conduct towards me. We are bidden to love our neighbours as ourselves. Yet can any man treat himself as you have treated me? .You take my pupils from me, and will not let me retaliate. Have you let wordly dignity mislead you? But we are both, he and I, children of the same God. From neglect of our brotherhood springs all human wickedness. I have missed no opportunity of reconciliation. You should try to calm your friend's anger against me, and to correct his error. That will be a proof of real friendship. »

52 (51). *Ἰω(άννῃ) σπαθ(αρο)κανδ(ι)δ(άτῳ).* f. 181-182
Incip. *Πρὶν ἢ σου γνῶναι τὴν ἄφιξιν ἔφθασας ἀναχωρήσας αὐτός*
« I am sorry we did not meet during your visit here, but I forgive you for overlooking me. The bearer of your letter asked me

to convey a letter to your brother. This I could not do. But I can write to you, who are a better man and a greater friend. A letter of the Patriarch orders your brother's conduct to be investigated by his father. If the charges against him are found false, he is to be returned to his own monastery. If not, he is to be left as he is. Since rumours and false accusations are rife, use your influence with your father to see that he gets justice tempered with mercy. »

53 (52). *Τῷ πατριάρχῃ.* f. 182-182^v
Incip. *Ἐκεῖνοι γράφειν εἰς κάλλος ἱκανοί*
« Professional scribes have very high standards of calligraphy. I have not. So long as I copy what is needed, I care nothing for elegance. I have carried out your order, and am proud to be counted your friend. »

54 (53). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 182^v-183
Incip. *Οὐ δροσώδης ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὡς τοῖς στρουθοῖς ἐπισιτισμός*
« I do not live on air, and I have dependants. For two years I have not had my annual *εὐλογία*, What is the use of being your servant if I cannot claim your aid? What is my position? At present I am worse off than a water-carrier. »

55 (54). *Τῷ κανστρισίῳ.* f. 183-185
Incip. *Ἴσως οὐκ εὔλογα δόξω λέγειν οὐδὲ δίκαια*
« If your anger against me is on account of something new, then it is justified. If not, then my complaint is reasonable, since you are trying to reopen hostilities. You are taking the fruits of my labour, and persecuting me worse than ever. You may think your former alienation of my pupils and your present attacks on me trivial. I leave it to God to judge. I am near to death, and have been vindicated by the *μεγάλοι διδάσκαλοι* of the church. »

56 (55). *Γρηγορίῳ μαθητῇ ἀποστατήσαντι.* f. 185-185^v
Incip. *Εἰ σαυτῷ μηδὲν σύνοιδας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐσφάλθαι*
« If you feel no guilt, you can mock at my complaints against you. It is not for me to punish you in any case. Revile me as you please, I shall not defend myself. »

57 (56). *Ἐπισκόπῳ.* f. 185^v
Incip. *Ἀπέχω πρὸ καιροῦ τοὺς ὀφειλομένους μισθούς*
« Thank you for paying me my fee before the time. You will find me grateful. »

58 (57). *Κωνστατίνῳ βεστήτορι.* f. 185^{v}-186^{v}

Incip. *Ἔδει, καλὲ Κωνσταντῖνε, τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰδεσθέντα σε*

« You should have respected my silence. It arose out of respect for you. Or do you think I fear you? It was not for that reason that I refrained from suing you for your fee. But I leave such matters to the conscience of others, even my own pupils, and I have compelled and will compel none. I want nothing from you. »

59 (58). *Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Σέλγης.* f. 186^{v}-187

Incip. *Ἔφθασεν ἡμῶν τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ἐπιδιορθούμενον*

« Thank you for correcting your error in respect of me. I thought it was due to neglect, but now I realise my mistake. I like to get what is due to me without trouble. »

60 (59). *Ἡγουμέ(νῳ) τῶν Μονοβατῶν.* f. 187^{v}-188^{v}

Incip. *Ἐκείνους αἰτιᾶσθαί τις ἐθέλει τοὺς φρόνημα γήινον ἔχοντας*

« I cannot accuse a man of your vocation. But I complain of your conduct in one respect. Your protege Arsenios, who almost replaced my brother in my eyes, has returned to your paternal care before completing his studies, and before his great promise could bear fruit. Please send him back. He will come to no harm. I shall soon return him to pursue his studies in theology. »

61 (60). *Ἰω(άννῃ) πιγκέρνῃ τοῦ πατριάρχου* (1). f. 188^{v}-189

Incip. *Ἐμπορικὴν καὶ οὐ σοφιστικὴν μετιέναι τέχνην*

« I do not want to bargain with you over prices. Either name a price yourself, and let me keep the book you have lent me; or if you cannot, I shall bear you no ill-will, and I hope my retention of the book will cause none. »

62 (61). *Ἐφραὶμ μοναχῷ.* f. 189-189^{v}

Incip. *Ἓν ἀντὶ πάντων τοῦτο γράψαι συνεῖδον*

« Remember me, and do not go away for ever. A thorn in my flesh prevents me saying any more now. »

63 (62). *Νικηφό(ρῳ) μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Φιλιππουπόλ(εως).* f. 189^{v}

Incip. *Καὶ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἔδει δραχμῶν προκριθῆναι.*

« You have made a mistake of one aureus in the price of the

(1) On this office cf. Ps.-Codinus, Migne, *P.G.*, 157, 28.

books which you bought. Please send it to me. I need it more than you do. »

64 (63). *Ἐφραὶμ μοναχῷ.* f. 190-191^{v}

Incip. *Τοῖς χρυσοῖς σου γράμμασιν ἐντυχόντες*

« I was glad to receive your letter, but sorry that you should have thought it necessary to send me a bed-cover. I thank you for it, as for your other gifts. I cannot write you a long letter, because I am worried by the attacks of my enemies. Return to the school soon, and take up your studies again, which I am sure you have not forgotten. I long to hear your spiritual discourse. »

65 (64). *Θεοδώρῳ πρωτονοτ(αρίῳ).* f. 191^{v}-192

Incip. *Συνήθεις ἡμεῖς, ὅτι δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν*

« Whether you act from friendship or from pity, hasten to do what I ask. I know you will have no difficulty. Say nothing of my affairs, but make your own action known by its outcome. »

66 (65). *Ἰω(άννῃ) πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ τοῦ πατριάρχου.* f. 192-193

Incip. *Τὸ θαρρεῖν μήτε συνήθης ὢν μήτε φίλιον διαπραξάμενος*

« I am confident because of your approval of my plan. We can speak to one another with the freedom of men of learning. If you can carry out your friend's project, and if you think I am a suitable person for it, hasten to do so, just as if it were your own plan. »

67 (66). *Πέτρῳ ἀσηκρῆτις καὶ μαΐστωρι.* f. 193-194

Incip. *Συμβάλλειν οὐκ εἶχον τὸν γέλωτα ὃν κατέχεας ἡμῶν χθές*

« I cannot understand your laughter at me, which seems to spring from disappointment. Is it the plan or my own person that you find ridiculous? I am not in a position to spurn such tasks as this. I shall not trouble you again. »

68 (67). *Φιλαρέτῳ μαΐστωρι.* f. 194-195

Incip. *Τί μὴ παρά τινος διωκόμενος φεύγειν αὐτὸς κατεπείγῃ*

« Why do you pretend to be afraid, though I am not threatening you? You threaten to complain to prefects and emperors, though you have no charge to bring against me. As a priest you should be concerned with combating evil, not with pursuing trivial charges. Take care lest you do more harm to yourself than to me. »

69 (68). *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Νικαίας.* f. 195-196^{v}

Incip. *Δυσὶ τοῦ νοῦ περιαγόμενοι λογισμοῖς*

« I hesitated whether to write to you or not, but decided that

I ought to. Children naturally prefer play to study: fathers naturally train them to follow good courses, using persuasion or force. Your children, like their companions, neglected their work and were in need of correction. I resolved to punish them myself, and to inform their father. They returned to work and studied diligently for some time. But they are now occupied with birds once again, and neglecting their studies. Their father, passing through the city, commented acidly on their conduct. Instead of coming to me, or to their uncle, they have run away somewhere, perhaps either to you or to Olympus. If they are with you, treat them mercifully as suppliants. Even if they have gone elsewhere, help them to return to the fold. You will have my gratitude. »

70 (69). *Θωμᾷ κ(αὶ) Ἰω(άννῃ) ἀδελφοῖς.* f. 197
Incip. *Εἰ βίας τινὸς οὐκ οὔσης μήτε μὴν φορολόγων πικρῶν*
« You spurned my request when it involved no difficulties. What would you have done if the situation had been really pressing? I need no help from such as you. »

71 (70). *Θεωδώρῳ μυστικῷ.* f. 197-197^{v}
Incip. *Εἰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἠθῶν παρὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ σώζεται ἴχνος κυρῷ*
« I know that your character is unchanged by the high office you have reached. I am sure that you will be willing to meet me. Since I hear that you need a secretary, I venture to recommend to you one of my own pupils. »

72 (71). *Ἐφραὶμ μοναχῷ.* f. 197^{v}-198
Incip. *Ἐμοὶ γράμματα ὑμέτερα ἐπέμφθη*
« I have heard nothing from you, either by letter or by word of mouth. So all I can say now is to wish you well. I grieve at your absence, but will never give up hope. »

73. *Βασιλείῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Νεοκαισαρείας.* f. 198-199
Incip. *Ξένον οὐδὲν τὸ διαφημισθέν*
« The news of your death was not unexpected, but, thank God proved to be untrue. I did not know whether to be sad or joyful., I was sad when I thought of your good character, but joyful when I thought of the rewards that await a life well lived, and your unassailable reputation. When we thought you dead, such were the considerations that moved us. Now that we know you to be alive, they move us none the less. May I soon see you. »

74. *Θεοδώρῳ κουβουκλεισίῳ κ(αὶ) βα(σιλικῷ) κληρικῷ.* f. 199-200
Incip. *Τύχην οἱ ἀληθεῖς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἐπιγράφεσθαι λόγοι*
« Ill-fortune makes us doubt the providential government of the world, and speak of 'fortune'. Yet perhaps as Christians we can speak of 'fortune' in the friends we have. Those who enjoy the help of their friends have good fortune. Those who do not have bad. May you continue to be a good friend to me. »

75. No Address. f. 200-200^{v}
Incip. *Οὔτε τῇ προτεραίᾳ οὔτε τὸ τῇ νῦν ἡμέρᾳ γενόμενον*
« Our recent meeting made no impression on you, and you left without a word of greeting. Now you show that you share the common opinion, and are unmoved by my words. If you are superior to others, do not share their errors. If not, do not give yourself airs. »

76. *Εὐσταθ(ίῳ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ).* f. 200^{v}-202
Incip. *Ἤρου τίνος δεόμεθα· ἤκουσας*
« You agreed to grant my request, knowing that the gratitude for it would all fall to you. Hasten now to carry out your promise. The old man who brings this letter — a veritable Chryses — counts on you. Take pity on him. Do not delay. Write to say that you are granting our request. Your reward will be whatever our master ordains. If I meet with your favour, I shall write further letters. If not, I shall count myself the least among your friends. »

77. *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 202^{v}-203
Incip. *Χάριν ἰδοὺ δευτέραν παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν μεγαλειότητος*
« I approach you with a second request before I know the outcome of the first. I speak directly as to a man of learning. Free the man from all care. I am sure I am not wrong in trusting you, and that you will act in accordance with your character and birth. »

78. *Παύλῳ διακόνῳ κ(αὶ) χαρτουλ(αρίῳ).* f. 203-203^{v}
Incip. *Καὶ διότι σός, φίλων γὰρ ὁ χρηστὸς εἶ*
« As your kinsman and my fellow-countryman, the pupil need pay no fees. I should like to treat all thus, but it is impossible. What you have sent is a token of your liberality. »

79 (77). *Θεοδώρῳ πρωτονοταρίῳ.* f. 203^{v}-204
Incip. *Οἷαις οὐκ οἶδα πεποιθὼς ἐλπίσι*
« One of your people has come to me as a suppliant. I pity

him for his separation from you. He puts me in a difficult position. I am sure you will understand my boldness, and let him off. »

80 (78). *Τοῖς τῆς σχολῆς ἐπιστατοῦσιν.* f. 204-204^{v}
Incip. *Οὐ πικρὸς ἐγὼ διαιτητὴς τὸ αἱρεθὲν ὑμῖν ἐκφαυλίζων*
« I shall not oppose you, provided you all agree among yourselves, and are not moved by jealousy. So decide yourselves, and I shall confirm your decision. »

81 (79). *Θεοδώρῳ κουβουκλεισίῳ καὶ βασιλ(ικῷ) κληρικῷ* f. 204^{v}-205^{v}
Incip. *Τὸ τῆς τύχης ταπεινὸν ἡμῶν διαγνοὺς*
« Not even your elevated station permits you to confuse educated and uneducated. I am quite able to understand your insult, and I write smarting with anger. You must honour teachers, my fine sir. Your anger is on account of a boy who needs a *paedagogus*, and you treated me like a common criminal. I entrust the care of the young to my senior pupils, and I am sure they have not been remiss. And if you must complain, at least adopt a different tone. »

82 (80). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 205^{v}-207
Incip. *Καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἔμελλον καταστήσειν εἰς εὐθυμίαν*
« Your letter brought me joy, and calmed the anxiety which you yourself had caused. I did not really express a belief in fortune in my letter. It was a mere technical term of rhetoric, and I am a Christian. Your letter also accused me of flattering the mighty, whom in fact I hardly know. Nor did I, as you allege, cast aspersions on you. We are all prone to err. I shall not fail in my duty as a teacher towards my pupil. But things do not always turn out as one would wish. »

83 (81). *Θεοδώρῳ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) κ(αὶ) μυστικῷ.* f. 207^{v}
Incip. *Ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάγκης, ταχύτητος τὸ πρᾶγμα δεόμενον*
« My friend's need is urgent. You have spoken to him. Now you must agree. There is nothing to hinder you. »

84 (82). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 207^{v}-208
Incip. *Θαυμάζειν ἐπῄει μοι κατὰ διάνοιαν τὸ φιλότιμον*
« I am amazed at my own presumption in asking your aid so urgently for a comparative stranger. But I thought that a man of education had a special claim in your eyes. This, rather than our friendship, was the reason for my action. However, your character forbids me to indulge in excessive praise of you. »

85 (83). *Λέοντι μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Σάρδεων.* f. 208^{v}-210^{v}
Incip. *Ἔχω τι τοιοῦτον ὁρᾶν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ*
« I have found myself generally a good judge of persons. So I naturally esteem you, and long to see you and to hear of you, ever since you deigned to converse with me. I should show this more openly, were our social positions not so different. I might have been sent for by you through my fellow-servants. But for you to approach me directly was a great compliment. I cannot thank you enough. I am sorry that you were anticipated in your choice of a scribe. I am sorry to see learning so badly treated. »

86 (84). *Παρθενίῳ ἀσηκρῆτις.* f. 210^{v}-211
Incip. *Ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτραπεὶς παῖς*
« The messenger whom I sent to obtain the text of Sophocles from you has failed in his mission. I should still like to have it, and ask you to name the price, which I am sure will not be too high. »

87 (85). *Ἰω(άννῃ) μαθητῇ.* f. 211-211^{v}
Incip. *Οὔτε τὴν τῆς ἀποστάσεως μεταμέλειαν*
« Do not think that I have rejected your brother's apology for deserting me. Yet his conduct was very unsatisfactory, unfriendly, and unbecoming to a pupil. I was naturally annoyed that my seed had fallen on such stony ground. The bishop will regret forcing this course of action upon me. »

88 (86). *Τῷ πατριάρχῃ.* f. 211^{v}-213^{v}
Incip. *Δέον ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἔργου βαρύ*
« I should have refused to undertake this task. Particularly when I saw that my work would not be appreciated, it was natural for me to be despondent. Others need write nothing but the original text in their own hand. I have to inspect what they write. You will easily be able to collect a sufficient number of manuscripts. Comparison is often laborious, as manuscripts have many variant readings. When I actually saw the book, with its many marginal notes, I was amazed at the corrector, and wondered if there could possibly be anything left for me to correct, apart from indicating briefly redundancy or omission. To copy it out again because of trivial variations of text or punctuation seems needless. And how am I to judge between variants? I shall bow to the opinions

of my superiors. In cases of doubt, sense, style, and doctrinal consistency shall be my guides. You must either be content with that, or pass it to another for further revision. I am too busy to waste effort in vain. »

89 (87). *Θεοδώρῳ κουβουκλε(ισίῳ) κ(αὶ) βα(σιλικῷ) κλη(ρικῷ).* f. 213^{v}-214
Incip. *Οὐκ ἐπιτείνομεν τὴν παράκλησιν*
« I need not repeat my encouragement. Press on to victory. When you gain it, set up ■ trophy which will ensure you divine aid. »

90 (88). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 214
Incip. *Εἰ ταῖς σαῖς ἐναπεδόθη τὸ βιβλίον*
« If the book was given to you, please return it to me. If not, see that what was paid for is carried out. »

91 (89). *Γρηγορίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ἀγκύρας.* f. 214-214^{v}
Incip. *Καὶ ἄλλως φύσεως τοιαύτης λαχών*
« I am no courtier, and I have suffered for it. I am grateful for your benefactions, and I beg you, if you can, to continue them. »

92 (90). *Θωμᾷ κ(αὶ) Ἰω(άννῃ).* f. 214^{v}-215^{v}
Incip. *Ἐπεὶ τὸ εἶδος ὑμῖν πολυπραγμονεῖται τῆς ἰατρείας*
« You keep giving me advice on what I ought to do. I cannot vie with such harsh characters as you. But here is my advice. Submit, and accept what is willingly given. You will not regret it. If you persist in your own conception of justice, you will rue it. I shall not fear the axe of your native Tenedos. Do not imagine that you can repay me for the education I gave you. »

93 (91). *Χριστοφόρῳ χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) τῆς Νέας.* f. 215^{v}-216
Incip. *Θορυβεῖ μὲν καὶ καθ' αὑτὸ ἠρεμεῖν οὐ ποιεῖ*
« Young people are naturally boisterous, and need to be restrained. Parents do not realise this, and are angry with the teacher. If they give vent to their anger, then the teacher's work is in vain. If you discipline him yourself sometimes, as he says, do it properly. If you are slack in this matter, do not blame me for what happens. »

94 (92). *Τῷ κυρῷ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μυστικῷ.* f. 216
Incip. *Ὅτι ἐπανῃρῆσθαι τὸν εἰς σὲ πόθον οἶδας ἡμᾶς*
« I long to see you. This is no mere compliment. I want to

persuade my pupils to write iambi for you, who are the author of so many, and to post them up in public places. My purpose is not mockery but pleasure. Either forbid me, or suggest a means of persuading them. »

95 (93). *Θεοκτίστῳ λογοθ(έ)τ(ῃ) κ(αὶ) πατρικ(ίῳ).* f. 216^{v}-21
ἐπιστολὴ ἀπολογητική.
Incip. *Ἀναπλάσεταί σου μὲν ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχή*
« You will attribute my conduct to some blameworthy motive. If you add inexperience and modesty, which are not blameworthy, you may be right. Otherwise you will not. I am well aware of the difference in rank between us. If you receive me, I shall put aside my modesty. If I cannot talk to you, at least I can greet you. »

96 (94). *Ἰωαννικίῳ μαθητῇ ἐπιστατοῦντι.* f. 217-218
Incip. *Τοῖς ἡμετέροις πλήττειν σε λόγοις οἰόμενος*
« I write to you to try to mollify you, because written criticism is more readily listened to than the spoken word. I know that anger is not easy to quell at first. But you know how unworthy and unbecoming it is. Be angry if you like ; but do not sin. Investigate the reasons for the errors of others, and explain to them what is wrong. Have respect for learning. Only so will you become a teacher. It does not matter whether you agree with the others or not. »

97 (95). *Πέτρῳ ἀσηκρῆτις κ(αὶ) μαίστωρι.* f. 218-219
Incip. *Μικροῦ καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἐγκλήματι*
Same text as ep. 23.

98 (96). *Σοφίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ δεσποίνῃ.* f. 219
Incip. *Εἰ μικρόν μοί τι παρρησίας ἐδίδου*
« I should like to be able to express my thanks to you at length. But it is so great an honour for me that you receive my letter at all, that I can only adopt a humble tone. But God knows how grateful I am for these books. »

99 (97). *Τῇ αὐτῇ.* f. 219^{v}
Incip. *Καὶ τὸ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης ἀπορρέον*
« Thank you for the book. May God grant that I continue to enjoy such favours. »

100 (98). *Νικήτᾳ μ(ονα)χ(ῷ).* f. 219^{v}-220^{v}
Incip. *Ὅπως διακεῖταί τις προσβαλὼν ἀήθεσι τόποις*
« I know what exile among strangers is like, and I am sure

you are in the depths of despair. But your wisdom will prompt you to embrace a simple life, and to repeat to yourself the consolatory maxims of scripture and classical literature. By way of consolation, let me remind you how joyless my life has been since my birth, and how unhappy men are in general. The bearer of this letter is a good friend. »

101 (99). *Στεφά(νῳ) ἀσηκρῆτις.* f. 220^{v}-221
Incip. *Καὶ ῥάκους ἐπίκλημα ἱμάτιον ἀχρειοῖ καινόν*
« Unworthy additions spoil a discourse. Lest such a thing should happen to my *logos*, I am sending it to you. You will show your nobility of soul by agreeing to make suitable addition to it. »

102 (100). *Βάρδᾳ ἀντιγραφεῖ* (1). f. 221-221^{v}
Incip. *Ὑπῆρξέ τις διαμάχη τοῦ νοῦ*
« My slight acquaintance with you assures me of your readiness to oblige your friends. Some characters can be easily recognised, others remain uncertain even after long acquaintance. But yours has been shown to be good. Please help me. My request will cause you no annoyance, nor interfere with your other business. I do not wish that our friendship should prevent the law taking its course. »

103 (101). *Ἐπιφανίῳ διακόνῳ.* f. 221^{v}-222^{v}
Incip. *Οἶδα τί πολλοὶ ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπαθον*
« I know how readily slander is listened to. But I am unchanged in my love for you and your uncle. So please do not listen to what is said against me. If you can put in a good word for your teacher, do so. If it will do no good, at least bear in mind yourself what I say. Accept what I send as a memento. »

104 (102). *Παύλῳ μαθητῇ ἔξω διατρίβοντι.* f. 222^{v}-223
Incip. *Τὰ περὶ σοῦ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐμβαλλόμενα*
« I am glad to have reassuring news of you, that you are settling down well in a strange place, and giving offence to none. Your own autograph letter confirms what I hear. One thing only is missing, which is of cardinal importance, provided it is accompanied by the rest. Seek the love and support of all, and show

(1) On this office cf. the passages of the Tactica printed by Beneševič, *op. cit.*, 134, 141, 143, also Reiske ad Const. Porphyr. de Caerim. 1.54, in Migne, *P.G.*, 112, 533, n. 16.

your good sense. If the present barrier is broken, your path will be easy. If it is not, you will not have wasted your efforts. »

105 (103). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 223-224
Incip. *Τὸ διὰ μακροῦ γράφειν ἡμῖν κεκώλυται*
« My many worries prevent me writing at length. I am glad to hear such good accounts of you from men of some position, and I shall not forget you. Your letter was read out to the senior pupils as a model. May you enjoy good health and a safe return.

106 (104). *Εὐθυμίῳ ἐπ(ι)σκ(ό)π(ῳ).* f. 224-224^{v}
Incip. *Ἐναπετέθη ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶ τὸ γράμμα*
« Thank you for your letter and gift. I am sorry that I did not see you as I had hoped. But the bearer of your letter assures me that this hope will some time be fulfilled. Even before receiving your letter, I had done what you ask, spurred on by your friendship and the efforts of Theophanes. Your nephew will make progress in his studies. Do not neglect to pray for him. »

107 (105). *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* f. 225
Incip. *Ἥγημαι τὸ σταλὲν μέγα, ἀναφέρων τὸ πᾶν*
« I am grateful for your gift, and for the friendship which inspired it. Your nephew is making progress in his studies. »

108 (106). *Εὐθυμίῳ πρωτοασηκρῆτις.* f. 225^{v}-226
Incip. *Ἦν μὲν καταδεὲς τοσούτῳ γράφειν τοσοῦτον*
« You are a man of great soul, as many can bear witness, including the bearer of this letter. Please lend me the letters of Synesius for a week. »

109 (107). *Σάβᾳ μαθητῇ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγχρονίζοντι.* f. 226-227
Incip. *Τὰ λυποῦντά με δύο ἦν*
« I am sorry that you have given up study for hunting, and have forgotten your teacher. Now you are old enough to know better. I hear now that you are turning to books again. If you still have any regard for me, shut your ears to the siren song, and come back here. So you will be true to your own nature. »

110 (108). *Νικηφό(ρῳ) κουβουκλει(σίῳ) κ(αὶ) βα(σιλικῷ) κλη(ρικῷ).* f. 227-227^{v}
Incip. *Δέδωκας ἡμῖν, θεοφιλέστατε, ἐν τῇ γινομένῃ.*
« I am grateful for the interest which you show in your nephew, and for the gift which you sent me so promptly, as an earnest of your good will. Your nephew is making progress. I examine him

twice a week. He knows his grammar almost perfectly. He is studying the Epimerisms on the third Psalm, and learning the third barytone conjugation. Pray for him. And may we soon meet. »

111 (109). Ἰω(άννῃ) ἀσηκρῆτις. f. 228
Incip. *Νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὁ κατὰ πάντα*
« Thank you for the interest you have shown in my misfortune. »

112 (120). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) μυστικῷ. f. 228
Incip. *Τὸ βλέπειν σε μὲν τὰ ἀφαιροῦντα πολλά*
« Though I cannot see you, I often think of you, and am sure you think of me. Please help me in my misfortune, and so show your own good fortune. »

113 (121). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ). f. 228-228^v
Incip. *Πρόχειροι μὲν αἱ κατανεύσεις, ἑτοιμότεροι δέ*
« You alone conceived and carried out this good deed. May you always remain such a man. You will have few to rival you and none to surpass you. I am struck dumb with gratitude. »

114 (122). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) κουβουκλεισίῳ κ(αὶ) χαρτουλα-(ρίῳ). f. 228^v-229
Incip. *Εὔφρανεν ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἡ δόσις μόνον δαψιλὴς οὖσα*
« Your gift, and the promptness with which it was given, fill me with joy. They give me confidence in the goodness of men in these difficult days. Time and distance have not made you forget me. I shall never cease proclaiming your goodness. »

115 (123). Συμεὼν ἀσηκρῆτις. f. 229^v-230
Incip. *Ἠτιώμην τὸν χρόνον ὅτι μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ*
« Your goodness was shown in action, and I am sorry that I did not make your acquaintance earlier. I long to see you again and to listen to your discourse. Not even difficult circumstances can prevent me remembering you with affection. »

116 (124). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) πρωτονοτ(αρίῳ). f. 230
Incip. *Ἢ μικροψυχίας καθυποβάλλεις· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο*
« If you do not carry out your design, I shall blame you. If you do, I shall hold my peace. »

117 (125). Στεφά(νῳ) f. 230^v-231
Incip. *Τί καταρρητορεύειν ἡμῶν ἐφρυάξω*
« Why do you try to dazzle me with rhetoric? Stick to the rules which you were taught, and listen to your teacher. Then I shall treat you as a father, and overlook minor lapses. »

118 (126). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) μυστικῷ. f. 231
Incip. *Καὶ ὡς λόγους τιμῶντι καὶ ὡς ἀντιτιμωμένῳ*
« I send the draft of my work to you, as to a man of learning, and as a token of friendship. Please criticise it. »

119 (127). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) κουβουκλει(σίῳ) κ(αὶ) βα(σι-λικῷ) κλη(ρικῷ). f. 231
Incip. *Ἐξηρτῆσθαι δοκῶ ἐν σοί*
« My affairs depend on you. So I send you this, to be passed on in the proper quarter, with your suggestions and support. »

120 (128). Θεοφίλῳ ἀσηκρῆτις. f. 231^v
Incip. *Χρεία κατήπειξεν ἀναγκαία τὸ βιβλίον ζητεῖν*
« Please return the book, which is needed by another friend. »

121 (129). Θεοδώ(ρῳ) πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) κ(αὶ) κριτ(ῇ) (1). f. 231^v
Incip. *Ἔχει τι διδόναι καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ τὸ δίκαιον*
« If the bearer has justice on his side, give judgement for him promptly. Even if he has not, help him as far as you can for my sake, if he is being persecuted by his adversary. »

122 (130). Θεοδοσίῳ μοναχῷ. f. 231^v-232
Incip. *Οἷς ἀπεστάλη τὰ ὑμέτερα δέδοται γράμματα*
« I passed on your letter, and the answer was once again obtained by force, for confusion prevails. However, they still remember you, as was shown by their joy at your letter. But I could not discover their intention. I am sure that their love is uncertain. Remember me in your prayers. »

D. — Prosopographical and Chronological Notes

1. *Alexander Metropolitan of Nicaea* (Ep. 69). Appointed professor of rhetoric at Constantinople by Constantine VII (Theoph. Cont., p. 446). Addressee of Nicolaus Mysticus ep. 71, and probably also ep. 100. Though these letters are of uncertain date (2), they establish that Alexander was elevated to the see of Nicaea before the death of Nicolaus in May 925. It has generally been

(1) Cf. *Οἱ πρωτοσπαθάριοι καὶ κριταί*, Beneševič, *op. cit.*, 132.
(2) Cf. V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I ii, 202.

assumed that he was appointed to the chair of rhetoric after having been Metropolitan of Nicaea; but N. Bees (1) argues that he held the two offices in the reverse order. A collection of letters of Alexander survives in cod. Patm. 706; they were written from the monastery of Monobatae (2) to which he was banished. These letters have been described, and the text of part of one of them edited, by P. Maas (3). The date and circumstances of Alexander's banishment are far from clear. Bees dates the banishment in the years 945-955. It can in fact be dated not after 946, as one of the persons to whom Alexander writes from Monobatae is Anastasius Metropolitan of Heracleia, who died in 945 or 946 (see below p. 427). The present letter is therefore to be dated not later than 946, and may be several decades earlier.

As might be imagined, Alexander was a man of letters. He is known as the corrector of the Lucian manuscript cod. Vat. gr. 90; his work on this manuscript must have taken place not much, if at all, before 930, as in his subscription to *Adv. Iud.* (H. Rabe, *Scholia in Lucianum*, Leipzig, 1906, 154, 1.15 ff.) he refers to the restoration of Larissa carried out by his brother Jacobus, Metropolitan of that city, after the *καταδρομὴ τῶν Βουλγαρῶν*; the reference must be to Tsar Symeon's campaign of 920 (4).

He was also a Biblical commentator. I have not discovered any evidence of the survival of entire commentaries by him, if such existed, but he is frequently quoted in catenae (5).

(1) N. Bees, *Basileios von Korinth und Theodoros von Nikaia, mit einem Exkurs über Alexander von Nikaia, B.N.J.*, 6 (1928) 369-88.

(2) Its location is uncertain. In the eleventh century we find the abbot of one of the monasteries on Mount Athos banished to the island of Monobaton, cf. G. Smyrnakis, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, Athens, 1903, 31, 478. Cf. also ep. 60 of the present collection.

(3) Description of the manuscript in P. Maas, *Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Kirchenväter und Sophisten, I. Drei neue Stücke aus der Korrespondenz des Gregorios von Nyssa, Sb. Berlin*, 1912, 988-99; list of addressees and text in P. Maas, *Alexandros von Nikaia, B.N.J.*, 3 (1922) 334 ff.

(4) Cf. V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na Bŭlgarskata Dŭržava prez Srednite Vekove*, vol. II, Sofia, 1927, 405 ff.

(5) Cf. G. Karo and I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus* (*Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1902), 18 (citations in Catenae on Kings); *ibid.*, 389 (citations in Catenae on St John's Gospel). Alexander is also quoted in the *catena* on the Epistle to the Romans in cod. Vat. gr. 762, s. x, fol. 403v, and probably in the *catena* on the Psalter in cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 358, s. xiii, fol. 121.

An epigram in the Planudean Anthology (xvi. 281 Dübner) records the construction or restoration by him of a bath in Prainetos, on the road from Nicaea to Constantinople. Maas *B.N.J.*, 3.334, suggests that the epigram was taken by Planudes from the anthology of Constantine Cephalas, whose colleague in the university of Constantinople Alexander was.

2. *Anastasius Metropolitan of Heraclea.* (Ep. 1). Addressee of a letter of Theodore Daphnopates (1), answering his objections to the election of Theophylact as Patriarch. This letter must have been written between December 931 and February 933 (2). Anastasius was one of the characters in the vivid dream of the ex-emperor Romanus Lecapenus recounted by Theoph. Cont. 439-40, Cedren. 634 D, etc., and the sources add that he died shortly afterwards. This seems to place his death in 945 or 946. The present letter shows him to have held the office of Megas Oeconomus. This is rather puzzling, as this important ecclesiastical office, to which appointment was made by the emperor at this time (3), does not normally seem to be held by a bishop. Indeed the Tactica of the period suggest that it could be held by a layman (4).

3. *Basilius Metropolitan of Neocaesarea.* (Ep. 73). There is no trace elsewhere of this bishop, and we know that in the closing years of the Patriarchate of Nicolaus Mysticus the see of Neocaesarea was occupied by a certain Nicephorus (cf. V. Grumel, *op. cit.*,, no. 683). The possibility cannot be ruled out that he is really Basil Metropolitan of Caesarea, the *πρωτόθρονος* who in 945, along with Anastasius of Heraclea, tonsured Stephen and Constantine, the rebel sons of Romanus Lecapenus (Cedren. 634 D) and in 956 ordained Polyeuctus as Patriarch (Michael Glycas 563. 13-15, Cedren. 639 B). Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Litt.*², 137, dates his tenure of the see from 912 to 959, it is not clear on what grounds.

(1) Text in I. Sakkelion, *Ῥωμανοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ ἐπιστολαί*, *Deltion*, 2 (1885) 401-4.

(2) Cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I, München, 1924, No. 623.

(3) Cf. A. Vogt, *Basile I et la civilisation byzantine à la fin du IXe siècle*, Paris, 1908, 267.

(4) Cf. Beneševič, *op. cit.*, 124, 138, and discussion of the problem on p. 151.

He was a man of letters, best known for his commentaries on the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (1), which seem to have been published after the fall of Romanus Lecapenus. He is the addressee of Alexander of Nicaea ep. 11 (Maas, *B.N.J.*, 3.335), and visited Alexander in his exile at Monobatae along with Anastasius of Heraclea, and other prelates. The beginning of what may be a collection of his letters appears in a Vatican manuscript.

4. *Ephraim the Monk* (Ep. 12, 62, 64, 72). The name is not a common one in the tenth century, and this particular bearer of it is evidently a man of classical culture. It is therefore tempting to identify him with a scribe signing himself *Ἐφραὶμ μοναχός* in the 40's and 50's of the tenth century, to whom four manuscripts now surviving have been attributed. They are: cod. Ven. Marc. 780, Nov. 954, Aristotle's *Organon*; cod. Athous Vatoped. 747, 23 Nov. 948, *Tetrevangelion*; cod. Athous Laurae 194, s. x-xi (date cut away), *Acts* and *Epistles*; cod. Vat. gr. 124, s. x-xi (5 April, fifth Indiction, perhaps 947), Polybius' *Histories* (2).

5. *Eustathius Protospatharius* (Ep. 48, 76, 77). Possibly to be identified with Eustathius, *στρατηγὸς Καλαβρίας* during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who is described by Cedren. 650 D as *εἷς ὢν τῶν βασιλικῶν θαλαμηπόλων*. But the name is a common one.

6. *Euthymius the Bishop* (Ep. 106, 107). This may be Euthy-

(1) Cf. I. Sajdak, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni I* (*Meletemata Patristica*, I), Kraków, 1914, 37-98; Id., *Die Scholiasten der Reden des Gregor von Nazianz*, *B.Z.*, 30 (1929-30) 268-74; R. Cantarella, *Basilio Minimo*, *B.Z.*, 25 (1925) 292-309, 26 (1926) 1-35. This last paper contains full lists of manuscripts containing the commentaries, references to published texts, etc. Sajdak, *Hist. Crit.*, 59-61, gives countenance to the confusion of Basil of Caesarea, author of the commentaries, who calls himself *ὁ ἐλάχιστος* in contradistinction to his great namesake and predecessor with another Basilius Minimus, whose *Life*, composed by his disciple Gregorius, is preserved in several forms in many manuscripts. But this Basilius Minimus was a lay ascetic who flourished in the first half of the tenth century. Cf. the excerpts from the *Life* edited from cod. Paris. gr. 1547, fol. 1-129 in *AASS* Mar. III^{3}, 28-82, and reprinted in Migne, *P.G.*, 109, 653-64.

(2) On these manuscripts see most recently A. Diller, *Notes on Greek Codices of the tenth century*, *T.A.Ph.A.*, 1947, 184-8. Diller gives full references to published facsimiles of these manuscripts, inspection of which supports the supposition that they were written by one and the same scribe.

mius, Metropolitan of Pisidian Antioch, addressee of Nicolaus Mysticus ep. 115, to which a date cannot be assigned (1).

7. *Gregorius Metropolitan of Ancyra* (Ep. 91). This bishop is known elsewhere only as the addressee of Alexander of Nicaea ep. 8 (Maas, *B.N.J.*, 3.334).

8. *Leo Metropolitan of Sardis.* (Ep. 85). This bishop is addressee of Alexander of Nicaea ep. 1 (Maas, *B.N.J.*, 3.334). As he appears to be a man of literary tastes, he is likely to be the author of the epigram published by L. Sternbach, *Analecta Byzantina*, *České Museum Fil.*, 6 (1900) 291-322, no. 5, from cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 690, fol. 108^{v}. He may also be the author of a letter in cod. Neapol. III AA 6, s. xiii, fol. 112-113, entitled: *Ἐπιστολὴ Λέοντος μητροπολίτου Σάρδεων*, beginning: *Ἄρτι τῆς ἑῴας διαυγαζούσης καίτοι μὴ ὂν ἐν ἔθει — τρίτη γὰρ ἦν ἡμέρα — κριτήριον συνεκροτεῖτο· τόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας τὸ ὑπερῷ(ον) τοῦ θείου ἱλαστηρίου ἐναπεκέκριτο*, and ending: *συγκέχυνται δὲ νόμοι καὶ θεσμοὶ καὶ χρόνιοι ἐθισμοί: ἀφανιζέσθωσαν λοιπὸν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ μόνα λοιπά* (2). But it must be borne in mind that the bishopric of Sardis was held some two generations later by another Leo, who signed the synodal decree of the Patriarch Sisinnius in 997 (cf. Rhallis-Potlis, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, Athens, 1852-59, V, 11-19).

9. *Leo Sacellarius* (Ep. 24, 25). From the references to money in the first letter, it is clear that the addressee is the imperial *sacellarius*, rather than the *sacellarius* of the Patriarchate, whose duty was the supervision of monasteries. His name should be added to the list of *sacellarii* in F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (*Byz. Archiv*, 9), Leipzig, 1927, 16 ff. He may have succeeded Anastasius the Sacellarius, involved in a plot against Romanus Lecapenus in 921 (Theoph. Cont. 400). He is probably to be identified with the Leo for whom cod. Vat. Regin. gr. 1, written in the first half of the tenth century, and containing the Septua-

(1) Cf. V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, ii, Paris, 1936, 207.

(2) Cf. S. Lampros, *N.E.*, 18 (1924) 221-2. Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, VII, 1801, 721, speaks of « Leonis *Sardicensis* metropolitae epistola » in cod. reg. Neapolit. II: the reference must be to this letter.

gint, was written. This person is described as *Λέων ταμείας τῶν ἀνακτόρων, πρωτοσπαθάριος, πρεπόσιτος*, and his portrait, which appears on fol. 2v, is inscribed : *Λέων πατρίκιος πραιπόσιτος καὶ σακελλάριος προσφέρων τὴν ἑξήκοντα* (sic) *βίβλον τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον*. He is hardly the same as *Λέων ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ λογοθέτης*, scribe of cod. Athen. Ethn. Bibl. 212, s. x, containing Homilies of John Chrysostom.

10. *Nicephorus Metropolitan of Philippopolis or Philippi* (Ep. 63). In the manuscript he is called *μητροπολίτης Φιλιππουπόλεως*. But he is no doubt to be identified with Nicephorus of Philippi, addressee of Alexander of Nicaea ep. 6 (Maas, *B.N.J.*, 3.334). I know of no other reference to this bishop, nor can I suggest which was his true diocese.

11. *Nicetas the Monk* (Ep. 100). The name is too common for any plausible identification to be made. It is just possible that this person is Nicetas magister, father of the empress Sophia, who was banished to a monastery in 927 (Theoph. Cont. 417.3, Symeon Mag. 742.9, Georg. Mon. 908.8). The writer was certainly familiar with the daughter, and may have been with the father. But Nicetas magister was banished *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ προαστείῳ* (Georg. Mon. 908.11), which does not seem to square with the tone of the letter. For other persons of this name in the third decade of the tenth century cf. G. Mercati, *Dagli epistolografi del codice Vaticano* 306, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 35 (1915) 125-39 (= *Opere Minori*, iii, 446-57).

12. *Orestes Chartophylax* (Ep. 21). The name is not a common one. We hear of an Orestes, *protonotarius* of Hagia Sophia, being sent on a mission to Pope John XI in 933 (1). The two may be the same.

13. *The Lady Sophia* (Ep. 8, 98, 99). This is evidently the ex-empress Sophia, widow of Christopher Lecapenus, who became a nun in the monastery *τὰ Κανικλείου* (2) after her husband's death in 931 (Theoph. Cont. 471). The date of her death is un-

(1) Cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, München, vol. I, 1924, No. 625.

(2) On this monastery cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, iii, *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1953, 286-7.

known. The daughter whose death is referred to in ep. 8 cannot be Maria, wife of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria, who long survived her mother (Theoph. Cont. 422). We do not hear from any other source of a second daughter. Presumably she was only a child when she died.

14. *Symeon Asecretis*. (Ep. 115). Possibly the Symeon asecretis who came to terms with Leo of Tripoli after the Arab capture of Thessalonica in 904 (Theoph. Cont. 368.12 ff., Ioann. Cameniat. 574.10, etc.). But he later became *patricius* and *protasecretis* (Theoph. Cont., *loc. cit.*), and would presumably have reached this rank by the twenties or thirties of the tenth century. He cannot, however, be ruled out. The addressee of this letter can hardly be the Metaphrast, who now seems firmly anchored in the second half of the tenth century (1). He could be either the *Συμεὼν πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτοασηκρῆτις* under Romanus Lecapenus, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 46.68 ff., or the *Συμεὼν πατρίκιος καὶ πρωτασηκρῆτις* who composed a Novel of Romanus II in cod. Vindob. jur. gr. 2. But the name is a common one in the tenth century.

15. *Theodore Protospatharius and Mysticus*. (Ep. 26, 27, 71, 83, 84, 94, 112, 118). This must be Theodore Daphnopates, private secretary (*μυστικός*) of Romanus Lecapenus. The date of his appointment and the length of his tenure of this office are alike unknown. However, he was certainly in office before 927, and the presumption is that he succeeded Ioannes *ὁ μυστικὸς καὶ παραδυναστεύων*, dismissed about 925 on suspicion of treason (Theoph. Cont. 410.13 ff.). He had apparently been replaced as *mysticus* some time before 946, when we find Constantine *protospatharius τὸν τηνικαῦτα μυστικὸν καὶ καθηγητὴν τῶν φιλοσόφων* appointed Prefect of Constantinople (Theoph. Cont. 444.9). A collection of the letters which he wrote for Romanus Lecapenus was published from cod. Patm. 706 by I. Sakkelion in *Deltion*, 1 (1884) 657 ff., 2 (1885) 33 ff., 385 ff. Later, he was appointed Prefect of

(1) On this much-discussed question see recently A. Ehrhard, *Ueberlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 1. Teil, ii (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 57), Leipzig, 1938, 307-14 ; I have been unable to consult the article by N. B. Tomadakes on this subject in *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* for 1953.

Constantinople by Romanus II shortly after his accession in 959 (Theoph. Cont. 470), so he must have been a relatively young man when he first became *mysticus*. Ep. 71, however, which must have been written soon after his appointment, suggests that he had had a somewhat varied career before reaching this office (1).

Theodore was a scholar and man of letters. We have a homily by him on the conveyance to Constantinople of the relics of John the Baptist, which can be dated to 957 (2). Leo Allatius, *De Symeonum Scriptis*, 87, cites him as author of a homily on the birth of John the Baptist usually attributed to Theodoret of Cyrus. He is generally held to be the author of the last part of Theophanes Continuatus, recounting the reigns of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Romanus II (3), while Lampros and others have attributed to him the whole of that work, excluding of course the life of Basil I. Be that as it may, Theodore's historical work can have been completed only after the death of Romanus II in 963. A work of compilation very much in the spirit of the age was Theodore's Eclogae from John Chrysostom (4). It enjoyed immense popularity, and is preserved in a very large number of manuscripts. Finally, a life of Theodore of Studion is attributed in manuscripts to Theodore Daphnopates (5).

16 *The Patriarch*. (Ep. 31, 53, 54, 88). There were six Oecumenical Patriarchs during the first six decades of the tenth century, viz. :

	Nicolaus Mysticus	895 - Feb. 907
	Euthymius	Feb. 907 - 912
	Nicolaus Mysticus	912 - May 925
	Stephen of Amasea	Aug. 925 - July 928
	Tryphon	Dec. 928 - Aug. 931
	Theophylact	Feb. 933 - Feb. 956
	Polyeuctus	Apr. 956 - Jan. 970

Of these, Euthymius was an unwordly ascetic, Stephen and Tryphon were nonentities, the latter of whom could plausibly be

(1) *Μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τυφθεῖσαν ἐκείνην θάλασσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνίπτοις, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, χερσὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἐδράξω.*

(2) Cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*², 170.

(3) Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 348, following F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig, 1876, 284 ff.

(4) Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 170.

(5) Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 157.

charged with illiteracy, and Theophylact, though evidently a man of some strength of character, was interested exclusively in horses. The Patriarch for whom the writer of these latters copied manuscripts, and who seems to have entrusted him with what amounted to the preparation of a critical edition of a patristic text, must have been either Nicolaus Mysticus or Polyeuctus. There are no other letters in the collection which can be dated as late as 956. It seems most likely, therefore, that the addressee of ep. 53 and 88, at any rate, was Nicolaus Mysticus. The other two letters may have been addressed to one of his successors, but the familiarity of their tone is against this. We thus have a useful *terminus ante quem* for a number of the letters.

E. — The Writer

The letters are clearly the work of a single writer. The story which emerges from them is a consistent one. Stylistically, though some letters are more elaborate than others, they belong together. Again and again the same proverbs, quotations, and allusions are repeated in several letters. And in all the letters the law is strictly observed, whereby an even number of unaccented syllables must precede the last accented syllable before a major pause (1).

The writer appears in three main connection, as teacher, as copyist, and as man of letters. Each of these aspects of his activity will be considered separately later, but for the moment we shall try to piece together what little we can learn of his life. The date of his birth is uncertain. But since in letters which seem to date from the twenties and thirties of the tenth century he regularly speaks of himself as an old man, and already numbers among his former pupils men holding high office, and presumably of mature years (e.g. Leo Sacellarius), we shall not go far wrong if we date his birth about 870 or shortly after. He was not a native of Con-

(1) Cf. W. Meyer aus Speyer, *Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom IV. bis XVI. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 1891 ; C. Litzica, *Das Meyersche Satzschlussgesetz in der byzantinischen Prosa*, München, 1898 ; P. Maas, *Rhythmisches zu der Kunstprosa des Konstantinos Manasses*, *B.Z.*, 11 (1902), 505-12 ; S. Skimina, *L'état actuel des études sur le rhythme de la prose grecque*, ii (*Eus Supplementa*, 11), Lwów, 1930.

stantinople (1). In ep. 26 he says that for seventeen years many of his kinsmen have been a charge upon him as a result of an *οἰκουμενικὴ συμφορά*. This may refer to Tsar Symeon's campaigns in continental Greece in 924-927, or more probably 921-924 (2), and in that case the writer may be a native of Greece. But it seems more likely that the « oecumenic calamity » which ruined his family was the disastrous Byzantine defeat at Acheloos on 20 Aug. 917, and the resultant Bulgarian advance to within sight of the walls of Constantinople. This might suggest that the writer originated from Thrace.

Most of his active life seems to have been spent in Constantinople as a *μαΐστωρ* or secondary school teacher. He also acted as a copyist, and possibly as a kind of literary agent, for several of the leading men of his age, including probably the Patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus. His own literary works, which he frequently mentions, seem to have been something more than the models of style which every schoolmaster might compose for his pupils. His happiness as a teacher was marred by a long and obscure quarrel with one of his colleagues, the responsibility for which he attributes to one of his own former pupils, now a high patriarchal official.

In due course many of his pupils reached high office in church or state, though his favourite, Ephraim, disappointed him by becoming a monk. He was able to count on the support of some of these highly-placed pupils in his continual efforts to have his various grievances redressed. His acquaintance extended even as far as members of Romanus Lecapenus' family.

There is no mention in the letters of a wife or children, and in ep. 29 he describes himself as living alone among his books, with a single servant to attend to his needs.

The latest datable letters — those to the ex-empress Sophia — were written shortly after 931. If the « oecumenic calamity » referred to in ep. 26 was the defeat at Acheloos, then that letter

(1) Cf. ep. 78 : *Καὶ διότι σὸς — φίλων γὰρ ὁ χρηστὸς εἶ — καὶ διότι ἡμέτερος — πατρίδος γὰρ ὁ μαθητευόμενος τῆς αὐτῆς — ὑποτελεῖν οὐκ ἔδει μισθούς.*

(2) Cf. N. A. Bees, *Αἱ ἐπιδρομαὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπὸ τὸν τζάρον Συμεὼν καὶ τὰ σχετικὰ σχόλια τοῦ Ἀρέθα Καισαρείας*, *Hellenika*, 1 (1928) 337-70 ; A. A. Vasiliev, *The Life of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance*, *Traditio*, 5 (1947) 163-91 ; F. Dölger, *Ein Fall slavischer Einsiedlung im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jahrhundert*, *Sb. d. Bay. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1952, 18.

must have been written in 934. Whether the writer survived beyond the early thirties of the century we cannot say.

His school is a « secondary » school, in which instruction is given in *ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* (1), and whose head corresponds to the *γραμματικός* of classical times. A good description of the studies pursued in such a school a few generations later will be found in Michael Psellos' *Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Νικήταν μαΐστωρα τῆς σχολῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου*, edited by K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, 1876, 87-96. The pupils seem to study mainly grammar and rhetoric. On the methods of teaching used, the most revealing passage is the following from ep. 110 : *Ἐν οἷς δεῖ τὸν παιδευόμενον διεκβιβάζεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἀναστρέφεται : δὶς τῆς ἑβδομάδος κατενώπιον ἡμῶν ἀνακρίνεται εἴδησις : ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτῷ σχεδὸν ἀπαρεμποδίστως τὸ κείμενον προφέρεται τῆς γραμματικῆς : τῶν ἐπιμερισμῶν ὁ τρίτος ἤρηται τούτῳ ψαλμός : ἡ τρίτη τῶν βαρυτόνων αὐτῷ κλίνεται συζυγία : ἃ διερωτώμενος ἐκμανθάνει, τῇ πρὸς ἑτέρους παραδόσει παρακατέχειν διδάσκεται.* The work here described consists in the learning by heart of a grammatical text (2), knowledge of which is tested by question and answer — the forerunner of the later *Erotemata* (cf. Schmid-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, II, 1078, n. 8), study of a portion of George Choeroboscus' *Epimerismi in Psalmos* (3), and more detailed study of Greek accidence of the kind exemplified by the various bodies of scholia upon the *Techne* of Dionysios Thrax (4).

(1) Cf. Ph. Kukules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός* I, Athens, 1948, 108-21.

(2) This is no doubt either the *Techne* of Dionysius Thrax or the *Canones* of Theodosius. On the role of these works in education at a slightly later period we have information in Tzetzes' scholia on Hesiod's Works and Days 287 : *Ἡ ἀρετὴ δέ, ὡς ἔφημεν, χρονία καὶ δυσχερής· καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως αὐτῆς γίνεται μέτοχος, ἀλλὰ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκδίδωσι τοῖς στοιχειώδεσι γράμμασιν, εἶτα ταῖς συλλαβαῖς καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ παιδείᾳ, ἔπειτα τῇ Διονυσίου βίβλῳ προσέχων καὶ τοῖς Θεοδοσίου κανόσι καὶ ποιηταῖς, εἶτα σχεδογραφίας ἀπάρχεται, καὶ πολλὰ πολλοῖς μογήσας τοῖς χρόνοις μόγις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπικτᾶται.*

(3) Edited from cod. Paris. gr. 2756 by T. Gaisford, *Georgii Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones et Epimerismi in Psalmos*, Oxford, 1842, III, 1-192.

(4) On the *τρίτη συζυγία τῶν βαρυτόνων* (= thematic verbs whose present stems end in a dental) cf. Dionysius Thrax, § 14, and the scholiasts thereon, e.g., *Scholia Vaticana*, p. 252.53 ff. Hilgard ; *Scholia Marciana*, p. 408.1 ff., 40 ff. Hilgard.

The more advanced pupils pass on their knowledge to those less advanced — a practice necessitated by the shortage of texts. We hear in several letters of the *ἔκκριτοι* of the school, apparently those senior pupils who had special responsibilities for the instruction and discipline of their younger fellows. It is not clear whether they are the same as the *ἐπιστατοῦντες* addressed in ep. 80, though it is probable that this is so : in ep. 96 one Ioannicius is addressed as *μαθητὴς ἐπιστατῶν*, and there is no sign that there were any assistant masters.

Fees are mentioned in a number of letters (9, 11, 39, 58, 59, 78, 110), though sometimes the reference may be to fees for copying manuscripts rather than to school fees. The fee for each pupil seems to have been fixed by private contract (1), and in ep. 78 the writer offers to waive his claim to a fee altogether for a particular pupil. Once the fee was fixed, however, he insisted — not always successfully — on prompt payment : as he says in this connection in ep. 9 : *Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μαντεύσεται Φοῖβος ἄνευ χαλκοῦ, ἢ παρατάξεται στρατιώτης ὅπλων χωρίς, ἢ ἀποδώσεταί τις πρὸς δευτέρους ἀγῶνας μὴ τυχὼν ἀναρρήσεως.*

Several other *μαΐστωρες* are addressed in the letters : Michael in ep. 36, 51, Petrus a secretis and *maistor* in ep. 19, 23, 67, 97, Philaretus, who is apparently a priest, in ep. 68. Of these, Petrus seems to be the writer's own former teacher (cf. ep. 19 *sub. fin.*), whose good advice was not always welcome, and who became estranged from him, at least for a time. Michael is the writer's colleague and rival, against whom a charge of alienation of pupils is made (2). The hostility between the writer and Michael was aroused by the black sheep among the writer's former pupils, the patriarchal *canstrisios* (cf. ep. 30, 55). In the course of the quarrel between the writer and the *canstrisios*, which lasted more

(1) Cf. ep. 58 : *Ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφέ, οὐ σὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν μαθητευομένους ἅπαντας, τῷ οἰκείῳ συνειδότι ἐάσαμεν, ἵν' ἕκαστος πρὸς ὃ δυνάμεως ἔχοι τὴν προσήκουσαν ποιῆται φιλοφροσύνην.*

(2) Cf. ep. 36 : *Φροντὶς ἡμῖν οὐδεμία περὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἢ περὶ τοῦ δεῖνος, οὓς παρασπᾶτε, τοῦτο μέν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, δι' ἑαυτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ δι' ἑτέρων προσώπων, θυροκοπούντων ἄλλως, καὶ ὡς εἴ τινας αἰχμαλώτους ἡμετέρους ὄντας ὑπαγομένων πρὸς ἑαυτούς, τρόπον μιμουμένων κυνῶν, οἳ τοῖς θηρευταῖς τάχει τε ποδῶν καὶ ῥινὸς ὀσφρήσει τὸ θηρεύεσθαι μέλλον δεικνύειν ἔχοντες ἕπονται.*

than five years (1), the writer falsely accused the *canstrisios* of having deserted him in favour of another teacher (2), while the *canstrisios* did all in his power to blacken his former master's professional reputation (3), and to cause his pupils to abandon him. The origin and course of this quarrel cannot be satisfactorily traced from the *ex parte* statements contained in the letters.

The problem of the role of the church in public education in Constantinople is a complex one (4). Whether the letters now published make any contribution to the solution of the problem is for experts to judge. Though the writer charges fees, he is not an ordinary private teacher, but is in some kind of dependence on the ecclesiastical authorities. He receives a subvention from the church, which he calls *τὸ ἐμοὶ διδόμενον ἀρτίδιον* (ep. 1), *ἡ κατ' ἔτος ἡμῖν ὁρισθεῖσα εὐλογία* (ep. 54). When this is stopped, perhaps as a result of the machinations of the *canstrisios*, he complains in the first instance to the Megas Oeconomus, the Metropolitan of Heraclea, and later to the Patriarch himself. And when his livelihood is threatened by the slanders of the *canstrisios*, he appeals for a judgement in his favour to someone who is probably the Patriarch (ep. 47 ; there is no address in the manuscript, but the writer calls the addressee *δέσποτα*, a term which he elsewhere uses only to the Patriarch). The verdict seems to have gone in his favour, if indeed this is the meaning of the phrase in ep. 55 : *ὑπὸ τῶν μεγάλων τῆς ἐκκλησίας νομοθετούμενος διδασκάλων.* The writer was a layman himself, and seems to have had little knowledge of or interest in theology. Indeed, his careless use of the word *τύχη* earns him a stern rebuke from a clerical correspondent, to whom he hastens to explain that it is mere technical term of his trade (ep. 82).

(1) Cf. ep. 30 : *Πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐμοῦντι μανίαν ᾤμην πάλαι πᾶσαν ἐμημεκέναι κτλ.*

(2) Cf. ep. 30 : *Μικρὸν ὥσπερ σόφισμα τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐξευρών.*

(3) Cf. ep. 30 : *Ἐργάτας ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλεῖς σμίλης καὶ καττυμάτων τούς, ἵνα ῥῆμα φθέγξωμαι ἀφροσύνης μέν, ἐχόμενον δὲ ἀληθείας, πολλῶν ὄντας καὶ καλῶν διδασκάλους.*

(4) Cf. *inter alia* F. Schemmel, *Phil. Woch.*, 1923, 1178-81 ; F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (*Byz. Archiv*, 8), Leipzig, 1926 ; L. Bréhier, *Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople*, *Byzantion*, 3 (1927) 73-94 ; J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185*, London, 1937, 22 ff. ; L. Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine*, Paris, 1950, 465-478.

Many of his pupils attained high office in church or state, and the school which they attended was clearly no ordinary one. The following among the addressees of the letters can be identified as pupils of the writer: Stephanus protospatharius (ep. 9, 11), Michael protospatharius and magnus curator (ep. 10), Ephraim the monk (ep. 12, 62, 64, 72), Arsenius the bishop (ep. 15, 20), the *canstrisios* (ep. 17, 30, 44, 55), Leo sacellarius (ep. 24, 25), Gregorius (ep. 32, 56), Leo (ep. 33), Constantine vestitor (ep. 37, 58), Epiphanius diaconus (ep. 103), Theophilus a secretis (ep. 41, 120), Damianus spatharocandidatus (ep. 46), Ioannes (ep. 87), Ioannicius (ep. 96), Paulus (ep. 104, 105), Sabas (ep. 109), Stephanus (ep. 117), and probably also Petrus notarius mystici (ep. 28) if he is the young man recommended for the post in ep. 71. Among men whose young relatives — usually nephews — were pupils of the writer can be numbered Christophorus regius clericus and chartularius of the New Church (ep. 38, 39, 93), Alexander Metropolitan of Nicaea (ep. 69), Paulus diaconus and chartularius (ep. 78), Theodorus *κουβουκλείσιος καὶ βασιλικὸς κληρικός* (ep. 81), Euthymius the bishop (ep. 106), Nicephorus *κουβουκλείσιος καὶ βασιλικὸς κληρικός* (ep. 110).

We may now turn to the writer's activity as a copyist. He appears from his correspondence to have supplied manuscripts to the Patriarch Nicolaus Mysticus (?) (ep. 53, 88), Nicephorus Metropolitan of Philippopolis or Philippi (ep. 63), and probably Leo Metropolitan of Sardis (ep. 85). No doubt it is primarily as a copyist that he is brought into relation with some of his other correspondents. At first sight he seems to be one of the humble instruments without whom the great rebirth of literature and learning in the late ninth and early tenth centuries could not have taken place, a man such as Baanes and John the Calligrapher, who copied manuscripts for Arethas of Caesarea. Yet closer examination of the letters shows that such an impression would be mistaken. The writer makes no claim to calligraphy, and distinguishes himself sharply from professional scribes (ep. 53). And the task which he reluctantly undertakes for the Patriarch in ep. 88 seems to be more akin to editing than to copying, involving as it does choice between variant readings and compilation of some kind of marginal apparatus. The labour of many such men as the writer, scholars rather than mere copyists, must lie behind the vast works of compilation so characteristic of the period. It is

to be hoped that they all based their textual criticism on such sound principles as those enunciated in ep. 88. The text of which a critical edition was to be prepared was a patristic work; no more can be inferred from the letter. One is reminded of Theodore Daphnopates' florilegium from John Chrysostom, of Basil of Caesarea's commentaries on the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus, of the many collections of the homilies of Basil the Great which seem to go back to this period (1).

Of the writer's own compositions there is little to say. In ep. 5 he sends to the addressee a *βιβλιδάριον* of his own, which he later refers to as a *συλλογή*, saying that the addressee will be able to cull (*ἀπανθίσῃ*) the best from it. It was evidently an anthology or other work of compilation. In ep. 8 he sends a *σύγγραμμα* to the addressee to be revised (*τὰ συμφυέντα ἐκκόπτειν βλαστήματα*) In ep. 101 he sends a *λόγος* to the addressee in order that he may add a « supplement » (*ἐπιβολή, ἀναπλήρωσις, προσαρμογή*) to it. In ep. 118 he sends a draft of a composition (*ἡ τοῦ συντάγματος ἡμῶν ἄμβλωσις*) to the addressee for criticism. In ep. 30 he claims to have written many works (*ἐξείργασται γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν πολλὰ, καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἀπόμουσα*). It is probably vain to speculate upon their nature, or whether any have survived. The only certain specimens of his literary output which we possess are his letters. That they were in his eyes works of literature is clear from their style. They were no doubt intended by the writer to be read out by the recipient to a circle of admiring hearers, as the writer read out the letter of his former pupil Paulus *τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐκκρίτοις: καὶ ἔγνωσται ... ὅσον εἰς κάλλος ἡ συνθήκη ἐξείργασται* (ep. 105). Indeed, he several times speaks of the « hearers » (*οἱ ἀκούοντες*) of a letter, as distinct from the recipient. His letters might even be copied by friends to whom the recipients showed them, and who compiled epistolary anthologies for their own use (2).

The London manuscript, which seems to date from not long after the lifetime of the writer, probably belonged to a pupil and

(1) Cf. S. Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile*, Lund, 1953, 57-120.

(2) On the treatment of letters in the Byzantine world, and on the formation of the various types of collection, cf. the interesting discussion in N. B. Tomadakes, *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν φιλολογίαν*, vol. I, Athens, 1952, 221-4.

admirer, and may even have been written by such a person, though it looks more like the work of a professional scribe. The occurrence of the same letter twice (ep. 23, 97) suggests that the collection has undergone little in the way of editing or revision. It can scarcely, however, be a direct or indirect copy of the writer's minute-book, in which the « file copies » of his letters were kept since the letters are not in chronological order : e.g., ep. 8 must have been written not earlier than 931, while ep. 31, 53, 54, 88 — if they are addressed to Nicolaus Mysticus — must have been written before his death in 925 ; of the letters addressed to Theodore Daphnopates ep. 71 seems to be the earliest, since it speaks of renewing an old tie, and asks for a meeting, while letters appearing earlier in the collection must belong to a later date. The letters must therefore have been arranged, perhaps by the writer himself, in an order other than that in which they were written. They were probably given some stylistic revision at the same time, which may explain the presence in the collection of two slightly variant texts of the same letter. The occasional corrections by a later hand are all such as could have been made by conjecture, and most of them are manifestly wrong. It is scarcely likely that the corpus was much read or copied, and these corrections cannot be used as evidence for the existence of other manuscripts.

It is impossible to identify the author of the collection on the present evidence, though research in manuscript anthologies of letters may well reveal one from the collection with an attribution to its author. Those who consult Lambecius-Kollar, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi libri*, VIII, 282 ff. may be tempted to see in the scribe of cod. Vind. phil. gr. 314 our author. He dates his manuscript 28 July 924, and signs himself *Ἰωάννης γραμματικὸς ἀχρεῖος δοῦλος Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστο)ῦ*. Lambecius surmised that he was a chartophylax of the *Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία*, in the service of Nicolaus Mysticus. But J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften*, Vienna, 1920, 17, thinks the manuscript of south Italian origin. And in any case the facsimile on plate I of Bick's book shows a very elegant minuscule, probably the work of a professional copyist.

APPENDIX

TEXTS OF SELECT LETTERS

Ep. 1

f. 135v *Ἀναστασίῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Ἡρακλείας κ(αὶ) οἰκο(νόμῳ).* α′

Εἴ τις ὠφέλεια τοῖς ἐξ προσεγένετο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μησίν, οἷς αὐτὴ τὸ ἐμοὶ διδόμενον ἀρτίδιον τεταμίευται, προσθήκη ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀφαιρεθὲν ἐμοῦ ὠφελείας γενέσθω, ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτῶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐγώ · εἰ δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτῇ προσκτηθὲν τῇ προσθήκῃ φαίνεται τῇ ἐκείνου, ἀναλήψομαι τὸ ἐμόν, σοῦ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἀσπαζομένου ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτῶμαι παρ' ἐκκλησίας ἐγώ · τίνι δὲ προθέμενοι περὶ τίνος εἰπεῖν ; ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ τὰ ἀρχιερέως αἱρουμένῳ ποιεῖν, καὶ παιδείαν ἠσκημένῳ μέν, εἰδότι δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν · καὶ ὑπερβαρυνούσης οὐδαμῶς ὑποθέσεως · θαυμάζω εἰ†ὼ τὶ† ἐνθεῖναι τοιαῦτα, εἰωθότι κατακούειν τοιοῦτον, οὐ καλῶς ἐδοκίμασα.

Ep. 8

f. 138 *Σοφίᾳ δεσποίνῃ.* η′

Ἕτερά τινα ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐντυπῶσαι τῇ γραφῇ παρεσκευάζετο νοῦς, οἷα ἐνσημαίνειν εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπηλλαγμένη πάθους ψυχῇ · ἔχει γὰρ τότε χώραν τὰ οἰκεῖα ποιεῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀβαρεῖ ἐπεισιὼν ἀκοῇ · ὥσπερ πάλιν οἶδεν συστέλλεσθαι, τῶν πρὸς οὓς ἐξυφαίνεται κατοχῇ θλίψεως ἀκούειν οὐ δυναμένων. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ὃ καὶ τότε τὸν νοῦν ἀναπείθειν εἶχε μὴ λέγειν, τὸ καὶ νῦν συμπαραμένον τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕψος · πλὴν τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὕψος ἐκεῖνο πλεονεκτοῦν καὶ ἔτι πλεονεκτῆσον τὸν τοιοῦτον διεσκέδαζε λογισμόν. Καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐ τότε οὐ νῦν, τοῦ κυριωτέρου ἐπικρατοῦντος, δύναται ἐπισχεῖν, ἐπέσχε <δὲ> γράφειν τοιαῦτα τὸ τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἁγίας ἐμοὶ δεσποίνης συμπεσὸν ἄλγημα. Καὶ τί ἕτερον ἢ παρακαλεῖν αὐτοπαράκλητον οὖσαν τὴν τιμίαν ψυχὴν ὁ λόγος βιάζεται, τῷ μηδὲν ἢ ὅτι θνητὴν ἐννοῆσαι γεννῆσαι, καὶ ὅτι ἄμωμος ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βίου,
f. 138v *ὃ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ παρηγορεῖν ἱκανόν, καὶ ὅτι | οὕτως ἔδοξε τῷ καὶ εἰς φῶς αὐτὴν ἐξενεγκόντι, καὶ ὅτι πρόξενος σ(ωτη)ρίας ἡ εἰς τοῦτο παράκλησις γίνεται. Δούλῳ πλέον λέγειν οὐ δέδοται, εἰ καὶ τὸ δι' ὅλου σιγᾶν οὐκ ἐκκέκοπται. Ἦν δὲ περὶ τῆς βίβλου*

*εὐχαριστίαν ὤφειλον ἐνθεῖναι τῷ γράμματι, ὃ τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐξε-
ταστὴς ἴδοι θ(εό)ς, καὶ ἄξια τῇ ἁγίᾳ μοι δεσποίνῃ ἀντιμετρήσοι
τὴν ἄμειψιν.*

Ep. 26

f. 149v *Θεοδώρῳ πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) τῷ μυστι-
κῷ.* κε′
*Καὶ τῆς τῶν μειζόνων χωρὶς πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς εὖ προτροπῆς,
κατεθαρρήσαμεν ἂν αὐτοπαράκλητον ὄντα σε ἀξιοῦν ἐκεῖνα, ὅσα
μὴ πρὸς τὸ καταπραχθῆναι δυσκολίαν ἐνέφαινεν. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀντι-
πῖπτον τί, καὶ τοῖς οὐκ ἀναμένειν εἰθισμένοις πρὸς τὰ καλὰ οὐκ
ἐῶν τῇ προαιρέσει τούτων καθυπουργεῖν; τὸ δι᾽ ὃ σπουδάζεται ἡ
ἀπόβασις, συμπτωμάτων, οἷα ὁ βίος ἔχει, παρέχον πολλῶν ἀφορ-
f. 150 μάς. Ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς | προτείνειν δωρεὰς τοιαύτας χαρίζεσθαι οὔτε
θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες οὔτε θέλοντες, ἐξακριβοῦντες τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ πρὸς
τὰς ἐκβάσεις οὐκ εὐεπίφορον, περὶ ὧν ἑωρῶμεν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν
ὑποβάλλειν κατεδείσαμεν οὐδαμῶς, συναντιλαμβάνοντος ἐπειλη-
μένοι τοιούτου, ᾧ τρόπος ὁμοίως πάντας εὐεργετεῖν ὅσον εἰς
δύναμιν, οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀποκρούεσθαι. Πλὴν
καὶ οὕτως οὐκ εἰκαστικῶς ἔχοντες τῷ αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν
ἀναμφιβόλων τέως ὑποτίθεσθαι κατωκνοῦμεν, νῦν δὲ καιροῦ λαβό-
μενοι καὶ ὠθοῦμεν καὶ κατεπείγομεν, καὶ τοῦτο δή, τὸ τοῦ λόγου,
παρακαλοῦμεν, ἵν᾽ ἡ πορφύρα τῇ πορφύρᾳ διακριθείη. Περὶ πολ-
λοῦ γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν, ὦ σοφώτατε, οἷς οὐκ ἐξεγένετό τι
παρ᾽ οὐδενὸς τὸ ἐπιφορτισθὲν ἀποσεῖον ἄχθος ἐν ὅλοις ἑπτὰ καὶ
δέκα ἔτεσιν, ὃ ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ ἐπέθηκε συμφορά, τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν
ἑσμὸν περιστήσασα συγγενῶν, ὧν ἡ ἐπιστασία καὶ τὸ τῆς μα-
f. 150v θήσεως ἡδὺ παραι-|-ρεῖται, καὶ πικρὸν ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸν βίον
ποιεῖ. Καὶ περὶ οὗ τοίνυν ἀντιπράττειν οὐχ ὁρᾷς καιρόν, μὴ
μελλήσῃς· καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους, μὴ ἀμελήσῃς· τὴν φρον-
τίδα τοῦ μὲν ἀποτιθέμενος, τοῦ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπιτιθέμενος, ἵνα τὸ
μὲν τοῦ τάχους σχοίη τὴν χάριν, τὸ δὲ κἂν ὀψὲ τῇ μνήμῃ εὕροι
τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα. Οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο γάρ, ὅσον εἰκάζομεν, ἔχει τι δυσ-
χερές, βοηθῶν τοιούτων τυχόν· πλὴν προσσχεῖν σε τὸ γράμμα
παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτου τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ συναντιλήψεως
ἐξευρήματι, ὃ ὁ ἡμέτερος ὑποθήσει ὁμιλητής. Καὶ οἷ τὸ εὐχερὲς
συνορᾷς κ(αὶ) ἀπαρενόχλητον, εἴτε καὶ νῦν εἴτε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο,
ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐπαμῦνον βέλος ἔπαφες, βάλλειν κατὰ σκοποῦ κάλ-*

λιον (1) *ἣ ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος διδαχθείς, ὅτι μὴ τῆς Χείρονος, τῆς
κρείττονος δὲ μαθητείας ἐξήρτησαι.*

Ep. 27

f. 150v *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* κς
*Καταπείθει τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει τὴν ἀγανάκτη-
σιν οὐ λογίζεσθαι, καὶ μέτρον παρακλήσεως ὑπερβαίνειν, καὶ
f. 151 ἑαυτοὺς | παρὰ μικρὸν ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ ὃ ἡ φύσις ἐκκλίνει ποιεῖν·
καὶ τί πάθω; φύσις μάχεται φύσει, ἡ μὲν αἰδεῖσθαι κατάγχουσα
καὶ σιγᾶν, ἡ δὲ τὴν αἰδῶ διωθουμένη, καὶ μὴ σιωπᾶν ἀναπεί-
θουσα. Αἱ δύο δὲ περὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ θατέρας ἐναντία θατέρα, καὶ
ἡ μία τῆς ἄλλης ἀσθενεστέρα. Φύσει γάρ ἐσμεν ὀξεῖς ἢ ἐπιεικεῖς,
καὶ ἢ αἰδήμονες ἢ οὐκ αἰσχυντηλοί· φύσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀφ᾽ αἵμα-
τος στέργομεν, καὶ τὸ ψυχαγωγοῦν ἐκείνους ἐξανιχνεύομεν.
Ἀλλὰ ῥᾷον ἴδοις ὀξὺν τὸν ἐπιεικῆ, καὶ αἰσχυντηλὸν τὸν οὐκ
αἰδήμονα, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς τινα πονηρόν, καὶ εἰ τύχοι ἐκτε-
θηριωμένον ἄλλως, οἵους ὁ βίος ἔχει, τὸν τρόπον. Καὶ εἰ μὴ
τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς βλέποντες τηνάλλως ληρῶμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμῶν γε κατε-
τυρράνησεν ἡ φυσικὴ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους στοργή, καὶ πολλάκις
ἐνοχλεῖν τοιοῦτον ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἠνάγκασεν τοὺς μηδ᾽ ἅπαξ
αἱρουμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν, οὓς αὐτὸ τοῦτο τραχὺν διώκειν βίον
δεικνύει μέχρι καὶ σήμερον. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τοιοῦτον ἡ τύχη μοι
f. 151v παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα μόλις ἐξεῦρεν, οὓς ὠδίνω λόγους | δρυσίν, ὃ δὴ λέ-
γεται, κ(αὶ) πέτραις ἐκκειμένους ἀναιρούμενον καὶ τελεσφοροῦντα,
καὶ περὶ τῶν νῦν βαρεῖν οὐκ οἰόμενος ὑποτίθημι, καὶ περὶ ἑτέρων,
εἰ καιρὸς ἐπιτρέψοι, ἐπιβοήσομαι· καὶ οἶδα μὴ τὸν Ὕλαν μάτην
κεκράξεσθαι.*

Ep. 31

f. 157v *Τῷ Πατριάρχῃ.* λ′
*Τὸ δουλικὸν δῶρον μικρόν· ὁ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην πόθος πολύς·
ὁ πόθος, δέσποτα, συμμετρηθήτω, καὶ τὸ δῶρόν σοι μὴ ἐξερ-
γασθήτω.*

Ep. 53

f. 182 *Τῷ Πατριάρχῃ.* νβ′
Ἐκεῖνοι γράφειν εἰς κάλλος ἱκανοί, οἳ μελέτην καὶ τοῦ οἰκείου

(1) *καλῶς* cod.

τοῦτο περιποίησιν ἔχουσι βίου · οἷς εἴ τι τῶν στοιχείων κατὰ τὴν γραμμὴν ἢ ξυσμὴν διημάρτηται, ἰθυτενῆ τὴν θέσιν οὐκ ἐχούσης (1) *τῆς σελίδος, πᾶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐκκεῖσθαι δοκεῖ · διὸ καὶ τῶν μεμψιμοίρων ἕνεκεν ὡς ἄχρηστον ἀποβάλλοντες, ταὐτὰ πολλάκις γράφειν οὐ κατοκνοῦσιν, ἄμεμπτον ὥσπερ ἀποσώζειν βουλόμενοι τὴν γραφήν, δι' ἧς ὁ πορισμὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς ζωῆς ἐξευρίσκεται. Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πεφρόντισται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντως ἐσπούδασται, τὸ μελέτῃ σχολάζειν, καί τι τῶν χρειωδῶν γράφειν μέν, οὐκ εἰς κάλλος δέ · ἄνισος γὰρ καὶ λοξὸς καὶ τῇ θέσει οὐκ εὔσχη-*
f. 182ᵛ *μος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ λεπτόγραμμος καὶ ἀμβλὺς καὶ | ἀκαλλὴς τῶν στοιχείων ὁ χαρακτήρ. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δεσποτικὴν ὑποπτευθῶ παρατρέχειν ἐντολήν, τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐξεπλήρωσα · ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντως ἐννοεῖν ἔχω, ὅτι τῶν χειροτεχνῶν εἷς καὶ βαναύσων, τῶν φιλομαθῶν καὶ σπουδαίων ξένος λελόγισμαι.*

Ep. 54

f. 182ᵛ *Τ ῷ   α ὐ τ ῷ .* *νγ'*

Οὐ δροσώδης ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὡς τοῖς στρουθοῖς ἐπισιτισμός · οὐκ ἐλάφων τρεφόμεθα μυελοῖς · οὐ κοκκύγων χαίνουσι τρόπον ἐπιβάλλεται ἡμῖν αὐτόματος ἡ τροφή · οὐχ ὡς μόνοι, ἀποβλέποντας ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἡμᾶς, τῇ Κλεάνθους πηγῇ ἢ τῇ Αἰσχύλου προσκαθεζόμεθα πέτρᾳ · οὐκ ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἐμείναμεν, ὥς ἄλλοι τινές, ἵν' ἀπραγμάτευτον ἡμῖν τὸ τὴν τροφὴν ἐπιδαψιλεῦον ᾖ καὶ ἀμέριμνον. Τὴν κατ' ἔτος ἡμῖν ὁρισθεῖσαν εὐλογίαν χορηγεῖσθαι μετὰ τοῦ παρελθόντος καὶ ὁ ἐνεστὼς ἐξέκοψε χρόνος. Τί δὲ καὶ ὄφελος δούλους μὲν ἐξακούεσθαι δεσπότου καὶ δεσπότου τοιούτου, ἀμοιρεῖν δὲ βοηθείας δεσποτικῆς. Τότε γὰρ τῶν συν-
f. 183 *δούλων πλέον ἔχειν τις διατεί | νεται παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὅτε μὴ τῆς ἴσης ἐκείνοις, τῆς πλείονος δέ, παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου παραπολαύῃ φιλοτιμίας ; Μήτε οὖν τῆς ἴσης μετέχοντες μήτε τῆς πλείονος ἡμεῖς, ἆρα ποίᾳ καὶ κατατάττεσθαι οἰηθείημεν στάσει ; Τῇ δυναμένῃ τῷ δεσπότῃ προσοικειοῦν ; Ἀλλὰ προσοικείωσις ἡμῖν οὐδεμία. Ἀλλὰ τῇ διὰ τὸ ἀπεῖναι μακρὰν τῆς οἰκειοποιούσης δεομένῃ χειραγωγίας ; Ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ ἡμῶν τοῦ δεσπότου πρόληψις οὐ τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ποιεῖ. Ἢ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνα λαβὼν οὐ πάντῃ καὶ τῶν ὑδροφόρων αὐτῶν ἀπολείπεσθαι γνῶ, ἢ μὴ λαβὼν ἁμάρτημά τι διαγινώσκειν ἔξω Ταντάλειον, πρῶτα μὲν τινὸς*

(1) *ἔχοντο* cod.

δεξιώσεως εὐτυχήσας, ἄλλους δὲ νῦν δεξιουμένους ὁρῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς θέας τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, καταπολαύων.

Ep. 63

f. 184ᵛ *Ν ι κ η φ ό (ρ ῳ)   μ η τ ρ ο π ο λ (ί τ ῃ)   Φ ι λ ι π π ο υ π ό λ (ε ω ς) .* *ξβ'*

Καὶ πολλῶν ἡμῖν ἔδει δραχμῶν προκριθῆναι τῶν ἄλλων, σὲ λογιστὴν οὐκ ἀδόκιμον μὲν πλὴν οἰκονομικὸν ἔχοντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ παρέλκον τῶν ὠνουμένων βιβλίων τίμημα ἑνὸς ἔχει χρυσοῦ τὸ ἀμφίβολον, τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ τοῦ προσώπου σκοπήσας τὸ ἀδύνατον, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς οὐκ ὀρθόν, χρεώστας ἡμᾶς τῆς σῆς ἀποκαθιστῶν ἀγάπης οὐκ ἐπιλήσμονας, δίδου τὸ αἰτηθέν, τῶν πολυχρύσων τοὺς ὀλιγωβόλους ἡμᾶς προκρίνων, γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας μὴ διαπεμπόμενος.

Ep. 69

f. 195 *Ἀ λ ε ξ ά ν δ ρ ῳ   μ η τ ρ ο π ο λ (ί τ ῃ)   Ν ι κ α ί α ς* *ξη'*

Δυσὶ τοῦ νοῦ περιαγόμενοι λογισμοῖς, καὶ νῦν μὲν τούτῳ, νῦν δ' ἐκείνῳ βιαζόμενοι τὴν ῥοπὴν δοῦναι, ἀνάγκη θατέρῳ τούτων προσεπικλίνειν ἐγένετο · τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτρέποντος τὴν γραφήν, τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον ὑποβάλλοντος, τοῦ δὲ κατεπείγοντος ταύτην, τό τε τοῦ καιροῦ ὑποτιθεμένου χρειῶδες τό τε τοῦ χρηστοῦ φίλου πένθος καὶ τὴν παράκλησιν, εἶξαι τῷ δευτέρῳ διέγνωμεν, ἅτε καὶ καιριωτέρας τῆς γραφῆς ἔχοντι τὰς αἰτίας. Ἵν' οὖν εἰδῇς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἐπικρατήσαντος λογισμοῦ τὸ βίαιον, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦ ἑτέρου κρείττων ἐγένετο, ὧδέ πως ἔστω τῆς γραφῆς ἡ ἀρχή.
f. 195ᵛ *Φίλον μὲν ἐστι τοῖς παισὶ | παιδιαῖς προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ὡς τούτων μὲν τὸ ἄνετον καὶ ἡδύ, τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐπίπονον ἐχόντων καί, καθόσον ἀπειροκάλως ἐκεῖνου κρίνουσιν, ἀηδές · φίλον δὲ πάλιν ἐστὶ τοῖς πατράσι τὰ π(ατέ)ρων ἐνδείκνυσθαι. Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐνδείξαιντο τῷ ὄντι π(ατέ)ρες εἶναι ; τῶν πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ὠθούντων ἐκκόπτοντες, ἐθίζοντες δὲ τοῖς εἰς σ(ωτη)ρίαν ἀνθέλκουσιν · ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο — δυσήνιος γὰρ ἡ ἡλικία κ(αὶ) ἀφηνιῶσα τὰ πολλά, εἰ μὴ ταῖς νουθεσίαις, ὅτε μὴ ἐνεργεῖς ὦσιν αὗτ(αι), καὶ μαστίγων ἐπιτίθεται πεῖρα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν κ(αὶ) τὰ σὰ τέκνα συμπεριφερόμενα τοῖς ἥλιξιν τὰ τῶν ἡλίκ(ων) κατέπραττον, ὄρτυξιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ κ(αὶ) πέρδιξιν ἐναποσχολοῦντες τὸν νοῦν, ἔδει τούτους νουθεσίᾳ κ(αὶ) παιδείᾳ*
f. 196 *τούτων ἐκτρέπειν · πολλάκις οὖν | τούτους παρακαλέσαντες ταῖς*

τοῦ π(ατ)ρὸς ὑπείκειν ἐντολαῖς, κ(αὶ) τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἔξω μὴ μένειν, προβάλλειν τοῦτο διέγνων· ὠμότητα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ π(ατ)ρὸς ἀπήνειαν, τὴν ἐκείνων πρὸς σ(ωτη)ρίαν τούτου φροντίδα, ἀπολογίαν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν τούτους ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ὑπέστημεν εὐθύνειν αὐτοὶ κ(αὶ) τὰ εἰς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα σφάλματα, κἀκεῖνον μὲν γνωρίζειν τὸ σφάλμα, ἐπεξέρχεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. Οὕτως οὖν ἔχοντος, συνέβη νῦν ἀπολυθῆναι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν διατριβήν. Οὗτοι δὲ καίτοι καιροῦ παρωχηκότος πολλοῦ μὴ ἁλόντες εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῆς σχολῆς ἠφειδηκότες, πρὸς ὠνὰς ἠσχολοῦντο πτηνῶν, παῖδες ὄντες τὰ παίδων διαπραττόμενοι. Συνέβη γοῦν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ ταὐτὸ τὸν π(ατέ)ρα διέρχεσθαι, ὃς τούτους ἰδών, οὔτε λόγους οὔτε ἔργα δείξας ὀργῆς «Ὧδε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ὑμῶν;»
f. 196v *προσειπὼν ἀπηλλάττετο· οὗτοι δέ, δέον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας | τὰ τοῦ σφάλματος ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἢ πρός τινα τῶν συνήθων, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεῖον αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἄγνωστον δὲ πᾶσι τὴν ἀφήνειαν αὐτῶν κατεστήσαντο. Διερωτώντων οὖν ἡμῶν περὶ τούτων τοὺς συνδυάζοντας καὶ συνομιλοῦντας αὐτοῖς συμφοιτητάς, παρὰ τούτου μὲν πρὸς σὲ προθυμηθῆναι τούτους ἐλθεῖν, παρὰ τούτου δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ὄλυμπον κατακούομεν ἀπελθεῖν· ἀποσαφοῦντα δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδένα διέγνωμεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς βούλεσθαί τι τοιοῦτον αὐτούς. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς εἰς λιμένα πρὸς σὲ καταῖραι διενοήθησαν, ἱκετὰς ὄντας εὐμενῶς ἂν ἴδοις αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἔβησαν τόπ(ους), κρίνοις ἂν ἡμέρως τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν· κρίνοις δὲ πῶς; ὡς ποιμὴν ἀγαθὸς τὰ περιπλανώμενα πρόβατα, μὴ διασπασθῆναι ὑπὸ λύκου ἐῶν; Δὸς οὖν χεῖρα βοηθείας· διδοὺς γὰρ οὐ μάτην κεκράξῃ τὸν Ὕλαν οἶδα, ὅτι μήτε μόνος ὡς ὁ Ἀλκμήνης ἀναδέξῃ τὴν ζήτησιν, μήθ' ὅτι πηγαίας νύμφης, ὡς οὗτος, γεγόνασιν ἅρπαγμα.*

Ep. 71

f. 197 *Θεοδώρῳ μυστικῷ.* ο'

Εἰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἠθῶν παρὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ σώζεται ἴχνος κυρῷ — σώζεται δὲ πάντως οἶδα, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀξίας ὄγκος οὐχ ὑφείλετό τι τούτων, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τυφθεῖσαν ἐκείνων θάλασσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνίπτοις, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, χερσὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
f. 197v *ταύτης ἐδράξω, καὶ τῷ κατὰ σὲ ὑποδείγματι | τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ῥᾷον διαγινώσκειν ἐπίστασ(αι) — θέλω πυρσόν τινα χρόνιον ἀναζωπυρῆσ(αι) τὰ νῦν. Πῶς δὲ τοῦτο ἔσται; εἰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συνταπεινοῦσαθαι καταξιῶν — πέπεισμαι γάρ, εἰ καὶ τρεπτὸν φασὶν*

εἶναι τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον, αὐτὸν τῇ ἐνούσῃ σοι σοφίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ μείωσιν μὴ λαβεῖν — ἰδεῖν εὐδοκῆσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ συνομιλῆσαι ἡμῖν. Ἐπει δὲ καὶ νοτ(αρίου) ζήτησίν σε διέγνων ποιεῖσθαι, σύνοιδα τῶν ἡμετέρων μαθητῶν ἕνα, ὃν ἐπιτήδειον ἐδοκίμασα, κἂν ἐγὼ φαῦλος εἰς ταῦτα κριτής, γράψαι τὸ ἡμέτερον γράμμα, ἵν' εἰδῇς καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον πρὸς σὲ πόθον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρασπέδου τὸ ὕφασμα.

Ep. 73

f. 198 *Βασιλείῳ μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Νεοκαισαρείας.* ογ'

Ξένον οὐδὲν τὸ διαφημισθέν· τῶν ἐξ ἀναγκαίου γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων γενέσθαι. Πλὴν ἀνυπόστατον αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ὁ περιεῖναι τὴν ὑμῶν ἱερότητα τῷ χοῒ τούτῳ θέλων ἔτι θ(εό)ς, παρεμποδίζοντι μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τοῦ καλοῦ. Οὐκ ἀθυμεῖν μὲν οὖν τὸ κατασκεδασθὲν ἐδίδου τῆς φήμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυμεῖν· καὶ διττοῖς μεριζομένη τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἡ ψυχή, ὁποτέρῳ
f. 198v *τούτων ἐπέκλινεν, ἡττᾶσθαι | τούτῳ προσεβιάζετο. Ἀναπολοῦσα γὰρ ἦθος τὸ σὸν ὅτι εὐηθές, ὅτι χρηστόν, ὅτι συμπαθές, κ(αὶ) τὸν τρόπον ὅτι χαρίεις, ὅτι ἀπερίεργος, ὅτι εὔσπλαγχνος, καὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὅτι ἀληθής, ὅτι χάριτος πλήρης, ὅτι τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχουσα, συνεχεῖτο τῷ πάθει, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ὡς ἄλλη τις παρακληθῆναι Ῥαχήλ, πρὸς τὰ παρηγοροῦντα ἀνεπίστροφος οὖσα. Ἐπαναλήψει δὲ πάλιν ἄλλων ἀνήγετο πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμεῖν, ἐκεῖνα ἔχουσα ἐννοεῖν τὰ τοῖς καλῶς βεβιωκόσιν ἀποκείμενα γέρα, καὶ ὅτι κόπτεσθαι ἄξιος καὶ πενθεῖσθαι οὐχ ὁ μετὰ χρηστῆς ἐξ ἀν(θρώπ)ων ἀπελθὼν δόξης, ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἀμφίβολος ὢν πολλοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξος· ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἁγιωσύνης τεκμήρασθαι, φήμης ἐπικρατησάσης περὶ ταύτης πιαίνειν δυναμένης ὀστᾶ· πλέον γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ἐλέῳ καὶ ἁπλότητι διεβεβόησο γνώμης ἢ ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὁ Λυσιμάχου Ἀριστίδης ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Τοῦτο καὶ τῇ φήμῃ θανόντι τούς τε συνήθεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφ' αἵματος |*
f. 199 *ἀνεκτᾶτο, τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ζῶντι θεαθῆναι προτρέπεται πρὸς εὐχήν. Οἷς κἂν μικρὸς ἐγὼ συνταττόμενος, οὔθ' ἧττον λυπηθεὶς οὔτε πλέον ἡσθείς, ταὐτὰ τούτοις ἐπεύχομαι· εἴη μοι σὲ τὸν ποθούμενον ἰδεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἴσης συμμεθέξειν τούτοις χαρᾶς.*

Ep. 83

f. 207v *Θεοδώρῳ Πρωτοσπαθ(αρίῳ) καὶ μυστικῷ.* πα'

*Ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάγκης, ταχύτητος τὸ πρᾶγμα δεόμενον· δεξιὸς ὁ
κατεπείγων φίλος ἐμέ· ἡ ἀθυμία τούτου πολλή· ὁ ταύτην ἀφαι-
ρήσων προετείνετο τίς; ἡ πολλῶν ὑπόμνησις ἀνίσχυρος ἦν· ἡ
χρηστή σου μετ' ἄλλους προσηγορία παρῆν· παρακαλεῖν ἐκεῖνον
ἐνῆν· ἀνανεύειν οὐκ ἦν· ἡ ἀπορία προσῆν· ἡ παρρησία ἀπῆν·
τὸ θαρρῆσαι ἐπῆν· ἐμποδῶν οὐδέν· ἀδυνατεῖς κατ' οὐδέν· συν-
εργοῦντα ἔχεις πολλά· κατανεῦσαι χρεία λοιπόν· τοῦτο νῦν
ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπισπεῦσαν βιάζεται.*

Ep. 84

f. 207v *Τῷ αὐτῷ.* πβ'

*Θαυμάζειν ἐπῄει μοι κατὰ διάνοιαν τὸ φιλότιμον τοῦ σκοποῦ,
ἐξανίστατο δὲ λογισμὸς ἕτερος τοῦ θαυμάζειν ἀπανιστῶν. Καὶ
ἡ μὲν ἐκεῖνα εἶχε σκοπεῖν, πῶς ἐπὶ ἀσυνήθει καὶ ἀδόξῳ καὶ ἀγνῶτι
σχεδὸν ἐπίτασιν τοῦ ἀποβῆναι τὸ γνωσθὲν τῷ γράμματι κατέ-
βαλον τοιαύτην, καὶ μεταπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ μὴ θαυμάζειν εἶχε βαρέως·
f. 208 ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἀντετίθει, | χρηστοηθείᾳ μαρτυρούμενον
ἄν(θρωπ)ον τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ πῶς σχοίη, βαδίζων ἴσην τοῖς
ἄλλοις ὁδόν, πρὸς ἐκείνους διαφοράν; καὶ ποῦ τῆς παιδείας ὁ
μέτοχος τῶν ἀμετόχων ταύτης φέρειν τι νομισθήσεται πλέον,
πρὸς τοὺς ἀγκαλιζομένους παιδείαν σεσοβημένος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν
ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ καρδίας ἀπονέμων προαίρεσιν; Καὶ
εἶχε μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἀντίθεσις λογισμῶν. Διὰ
δὴ τοῦτο κ(αὶ) τοῦ ὑποπεπτωκότως γράφειν, πρὸς τίνα εἰδότες
ἡ γραφή, παραιτούμεθα, οὐχὶ τῷ φίλοι εἶναι βρενθυόμενοι, οἳ
καὶ τὸ δοῦλος ὄνομα καταιδούμενοι, τῷ φωνὰς δὲ τοιαύτας πε-
πεῖσθαί σε ἀποσείεσθ(αι). Πάντως δὲ οὔτε τῷ μὴ πέρα τὸν ἔπαι-
νον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πραχθέντος ἀποτείνεσθαι ἀναίσθητοι τῆς χάριτος
κριθησόμεθα, ἐπεὶ τούτου ἀπόστροφος ὡς ἀρετῆς ἐπίστροφος εἶ,
οὔτε τῷ εἰς ἐπαίνου καταστῆναι μοῖραν περιττοὶ ἢ κολακικοί,
ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν ἄνοια τὸ καλόν. Τοῦ δ' εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν |
f. 208v τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας σου κἂν εὐχῆς ἐθέμεθα ἔργον, εἰ μὴ ὁ στενὸς
μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ βίος καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν ἡμῶν κώλυμα ἦν· ἐκεῖνο
μέντοι εὐχόμεθα, πεῖραν σέ τινος κακοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν, κἂν κακῶν
οὐκ ἔστι τις ἀπείρατος.*

Ep. 88

f. 211v *Τῷ Πατριάρχῃ.* πς'

*Δέον ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἔργου βαρὺ καὶ τὴν εἰς τέλος σκοποῦντας
τούτου προαγωγὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπερβαίνουσαν δύναμιν, σκυ-
θρωπὴν ἀναλαβέσθαι διάθεσιν καὶ κατοκνῆσαι καὶ ἀπειπεῖν· καὶ
πῶς γὰρ μὴ ὠδυνήθημεν καὶ εἰς ὄκνον καὶ ἀπαγόρευσιν ἤλθομεν,
οἳ διὰ τὰ συνέχοντα κακὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καταδαπανῶντα ψυ-
f. 212 χήν, τῆς σῆς | δεσποτικῆς χειρὸς συνεπιλαμβανομένης ὅσαι ὧραι,
δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπισχύουσαν σχεῖν καὶ ἐπέχουσαν ἔγνωμεν.
Δέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ καταβαλλομένου κόπου τέλος ὅτι ἄχρη-
στον ἀπιδόντες καὶ εὐτελές· καὶ ὅτι παρὰ φαῦλον τίθεσθαι μέλλοι
καὶ λογίζεσθαι εἰς οὐδέν, χερσί τε προσρίπτεσθαι πολλῶν, βαθεῖ
μὲν τῆς ἀθυμίας συγκαλύπτεσθαι γνόφῳ, τῷ μόνοις ἐν ἡμῖν
τὸ τῆς παιδείας ἀτιμάζεσθαι τίμιον, πρὸς ἀναβολὴν δὲ πλέον
δρᾶν, τῷ μὴ ἀπορεῖν ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τὴν τοιαύτην σπουδὴν κατα-
πράξασθ(αι), ἄλλων μὲν σχολὴν εὑρισκομένων ἔχειν, ἄλλως τε
καὶ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου μὴ πλέον ἀπαιτουμένων τῇ οἰκείᾳ προστι-
θέναι κληρουμένων πρὸς τοῦτο, ἡμῶν δὲ πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς
ἐκείνων ἀφοριζομένων γραφῆς· τοῦτο μὲν ἵνα μὴ παραλογισμοῦ
ταττώμεθα μοίρᾳ, κἂν ἄξιοι παροράσεως, τοῦτο δὲ ἵν' εἰς ἔργον
ἡ δεσποτικὴ κέλευσις προαχθῇ — ἀδυνατήσεις γὰρ κατ' οὐδὲν
f. 212v συλλογὴν ὧν ἡ χρεία ζητεῖ ποιεῖσθαι | βιβλίων, τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἔξω
γραφῆς παρεντίθεσθαι, εἴ τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων καὶ διορθώσεως
ἐπιδεομένων εὑρίσκεται, κυρουμένης δηλονότι καὶ ταύτης κἀκείνης
ἐπικρίσει τῶν πρὸς ταῦτα δεινῶν, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἀναμφίβολον τὴν πα-
ράθεσιν ἐχουσῶν, ἕως ἂν εἰς πολλὰ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τὰ τῆς ἀμφι-
βολίας ὁρᾶται, καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα πρὸς τὴν ἑτέρου ἐπίκρισιν διαμάχηται.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς πρὶν ἢ τῇ βίβλῳ, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ μετεκγραφὴ
γενέσθαι παρεκελεύετο, <προσέχειν> (1) τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμελέ-
τησεν· ὅτε δὲ αἱ μὲν χεῖρες τὸ βιβλίον ἀνέπτυξαν, ἐπέβαλε δὲ
τούτῳ ὁ ὀφθαλμός, ἀναπολεῖν δὲ ταῖς ἔξω παραθέσεσι καὶ ὁ νοῦς
ἐναπήρξατο, τὸν τοῦτο διορθωσόμενον — εἶχε δ' οὕτω κ(αὶ) ἡ
ἀλήθεια — ἐθαύμαζον εἴ τις ἔχοι συνεπισκεπτόμενος πλέον τι
διατείνεσθαι συμβαλεῖν· καὶ εἰ ἔστι τις ὁ διατεινόμενος καὶ
λανθάνον εὕροι — φύσεως γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης τοῦτο — τοσαύτης
δεῖσθαι ἀκριβοῦς διορθώσεως, ὡς οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖν παρεντιθέναι τοῦτο*

(1) *προσέχειν* addidi.

f. 213 καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἢ ἐλλεῖπον σημείοις ὀλίγοις ποιεῖν | ἐμφανές·
ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρας μετεγγραφῆς καὶ συνεπισκέψεως ἐπικρίνεσθαι·
ἵνα τί γένηται; ἵν' ἕτερος μὲν ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς γράφῃ, ἀπα-
λείψοι δὲ τὴν προσθήκην ἄλλος τοῦ ἄρθρου, ὁ δὲ μεταβάλοι τὸ
θ(εὸ)ς ἀντ' ἐκείνου; ἢ ἵνα ὁ μὲν τῇ κάτω, ὁ δὲ τῇ μέσῃ, ὁ δὲ
τῇ ἄνω στίξοι στιγμῇ; ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ χωρίον ὁ μὲν κατ' ἄρσιν, ὁ δὲ
κατὰ πρόθεσιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν κατ' ἐρώτησιν, ὁ δὲ μὴ κατ' ἐρώτησιν
ἀναγνῷ; ἀπρόσδεκτος ἢ καὶ ἐπισφαλὴς ἔσται διὰ τοῦτο ἡ τῶν
λόγων ἐπιπλοκή; καὶ ποῦ ἢ ἐν τίνι καὶ λόγῳ ποίῳ τὰ τῆς ἐπι-
κρίσεως στήσεται; ἢ πάντως οὐδαμῶς, λόγου λόγῳ παλαίοντος,
καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον συνιστῶντος ἑκάστου, ταῖς ἑτέρων διαφθονουμένων
ἐπιβολαῖς, καὶ συγκαταβατικώτερον οὐ συνερχομένων πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς
ὕφεσιν ὥστε μὴ τῇ τοιαύτῃ συνελεύσει τῆς ὑψούσης τέως λαβεῖν
ὑπολήψεως. Ἐμοὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπεὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων † εἰς
ἱκανὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ ἡ ἐπίκρισις, δεύτερον δέ, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν
οἷς θεωρεῖται προσθήκη ἔλλειψις, συλλαβῆς πρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἕνωσις
f. 213v ἢ διάστασις, | στιγμῶν διαφωνουμένων ἀνάγνωσις, ἐκεῖνά μοι
πάντως αἱρετά, ἃ μήτε τὸν νοῦν συγχεῖ, μήτε τὸν λόγον μειοῖ,
μήτε τὴν δύναμιν παραφθείρει τοῦ δηλουμένου, μήτε τὴν ἐναν-
τίαν τοῦ π(ατ)ρὸς ἀποφέρεται δόξαν. Σὸν οὖν ἐστι, δέσποτα, ἢ
τῷ ὑπὸ λογίου διορθωθέντι ἀρκεσθῆναι ἀνδρός, καὶ ὀλίγων ἢ καὶ
οὐδενὸς συναιρομένων δεηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦτο, ἢ ἑτέροις μὲν ἐπι-
τρέψαι τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου μετεγγραφήν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῆς
γραφῆς ἐγχειρίσαι· τὸ δ' εἰς ἀνόνητα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὅσον, φασί,
τὸ οὖς κνήσασθαι σχολὴν ἔχοντας, παιδευομένους ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ
παιδεύοντας, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ προνοητικῶς ὡς δεσπότῃ διακεῖσθαι
πρὸς ὑπηκόους ὀφείλοντι ἄξιόν σοι κριθήσεται.

Ep. 91

f. 214 *Γρηγορίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Ἀγκύρας.* πθ'
Καὶ ἄλλως φύσεως τοιαύτης λαχών, οὐ φωνήν, οὐκ ὄμμα πρὸς
τοὺς μείζονας ἐπαίρειν δυνάμενος, οὐ προσελεύσεις ποιεῖσθαι
συχνάς, κἂν ταύταις οὐ τραχύνειν ἔγνων τινάς, οὐκ αἰτημάτων
f. 214v εἴδη | προβάλλειν εὐεργετεῖν, οὐκ ἀποκλίνοντας πολλάκις ὁρῶν,
ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀνώμαλόν μοι τὸν βίον συνορῶ ποιοῦν, πρὸς ἐκεί-
νους μᾶλλον μύω τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν δεσμῶ, τοὺς
οἰκείᾳ προθέσει ἀλλ' οὐ κέντρῳ δεήσεων πρὸς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ὄντας
ἐπιρρεπεῖς. Εὐεργέτην οὖν καὶ σ(ωτῆ)ρά σε καὶ τοῦ ἀπόρου βίου
ἐπιγραφόμενος ποριστήν, ὁρᾶν ἢ λέγειν περὶ ὧν ὁ λογισμὸς ὑπο-
τίθεται τοῖς φθάσασι καλοῖς ἀποκλειόμενος, τὸ γράμμα προΐσχων
ὥσπερ ὑπόμνημα τὸ δεῖξειν παραιτοῦμαι τούτῳ τὴν μείζω πρό-
οδον τοῦ καλοῦ· συναιρόμενον εἰ σχοίης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντιπίπτοντα
τὸν καιρόν.

Ep. 94

f. 216 *Τῷ κυρῷ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ μυστικῷ.* ϙβ'
Ὅτι ἐπανῃρῆσθαι τὸν εἰς σὲ πόθον οἶδας ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅτι πεῖραν
ἐπιτείνειν τὸν πόθον οὐκ ἔδωκας ἐξεπίστασαι· καὶ μὴ τὰ χαριέν-
τως λεγόμενα δεδωκυίας οὕτω τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀπὸ σπουδῆς οἴου
ταῦτα προέσθαι· τὸ παραπεῖθον τί τοὺς ἐμοὶ μαθητιῶντας ζητῶ
σχεδιάζειν ἰάμβοις σοὶ τῷ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἰάμβων π(ατ)ρί,
κ(αὶ) ἀγυιαῖς καὶ πλατείαις ἀνατιθέναι τούτους· οὐχ ὡς κω-
μῳδίας ὑπόθεσιν ἢ ἐκ τοιαύτης εἴληφεν ἀρχῆς τὴν ὑπόστασιν,
ἀλλ' ὡς δείξοντάς τι βιωφελές, ὡς τοὺς συνθέντας παραδίδωσιν
ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ἡδύ. Καὶ ἢ τὴν γλῶτταν
αὐτῶν φίμου διὰ τὸ ἄμουσον, καὶ ἐπιστυγνάσεται ὁ διδάσκαλος·
ἢ τὸ ἐνάγον δείκνυέ τι, καὶ ἡσθήσεται, Ἀραβίους σου γινομένους
ὁρῶν αὐλητάς.

Ep. 98

f. 219 *Σοφίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ δεσποίνῃ.* ϙς'
Εἰ μικρόν τι παρρησίας ἐδίδου ἡ κοσμικὴ περιφάνεια ἢ λαμ-
πρότης ψυχῆς, εἶχον ἂν ἐκτάσει γραφῆς ἐνθεῖναι ἃ τὸν εὖ πάσχοντα
πρὸς τοὺς εὖ δρῶντας λέγειν εἰκός· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ταῦτα καταρι-
θμοῦντα διὰ περισσοτέρας ταῦτα τῆς γραφῆς διεξέρχεσθαι, ἥτις
ἐφαπλοῦται τότε, ὅτε πρὸς πρόσωπα μὴ ταύτην ἐλαττοῦντα κατα-
σκευάζεται ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄμφω μικρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ οὐδέν, μέγα δέ
μοι καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ ὅλως γραφὴν ἐμὴν εἰς τὰς τῆς ἁγίας δεσποίνης
χεῖρας ἐντίθεσθαι, τῇ συστολῇ τοῦ γράμματος καὶ τὸ δουλικὸν
ἐμφαίνων καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀνακάμπτων, τὸ μὴ τὴν τοιαύτην
ἀγνοεῖσθαί μοι χάριν διὰ τοῦτο δηλῶ. Ζῶσα γὰρ οὖσα καὶ ἐνερ-
γής, πρὸς τὸν ἀξίως δυνάμενον ἀντιμετρῆσαι ταύτην θ(εό)ν τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπαίρειν διανιστᾷ, καὶ ταῦτα διεγείρει αἰτεῖν, ἃ μὴ
τὴν ἀπορροήν μοι ταχεῖαν τῆς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων βιβλίων δαψιλοῦς
ἀρδείας ποιεῖ.

Ep. 99

f. 219v *Τῆ αὐτῆ.* ϛζʹ

Καὶ τὸ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης ἀπορρέον ἀπαντλησάμενον, ἅμα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ τῆς τοιαύτης καταθεῖναι τὴν ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος τὸ ὄμμα προσαπερείσαντες, ὃς τῇ ἁγίᾳ μοι δεσποίνῃ ἐπιμετρήσοι, τῆς τοιαυτῆς ὠφελείας τὸ κέρδος, ταύτην μὲν ἀντιστρέφομεν, ἐφέσει δὲ προσκείμεθα τῇ αὐτῇ, τὸ οὕτως ἄρδεσθ(αι) παραμένειν προσλιπαροῦντες ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἐκφέρουσαν τοῦτο φλέβα ἐπισχεθῆναι, ἀνελλιπὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀναβλύζειν ἔχουσαν ῥεῖθρον· καὶ ἵν' εἴπω θαυμασίως, τῷ ἐπιρρεῖν πληρουμένην, οὐ κενουμένην.

Ep. 112

f. 228 *Θεοδώ(ρῳ) μυστικῷ.* ρκʹ

Τὸ βλέπειν σε μὲν τὰ ἀφαιροῦντα πολλά· τὸ δὲ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν σε πλείω τὰ συνωθοῦντα· ταῦτα καὶ σοὶ τῷ εἰς ἅπαντα χρηστῷ παραμένειν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπορρυῆναι ἐξακριβῶν, ἐνεργῶς παρακαλῶ δυστυχήσαντι φίλῳ τὴν παρὰ σαυτοῦ ῥοπὴν χαρίσασθαι, καὶ χεῖρα περικλυζομένῳ δοῦναι ταῖς ἀθυμίαις· ποῦ γὰρ τὸ εὐημερεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀλλαχοῦ δειχθήσεται ἐνεργές, ἢ ἐν τῷ τὰς τῶν φίλων παραιρεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν δυσπραγίας;

Ep. 118

f. 231 *Θεοδώ(ρῳ) μυστικῷ.* ρκϛʹ

Κ(αὶ) ὡς λόγους τιμῶντι, καὶ ὡς ἀντιτιμωμένῳ παρὰ τῶν λόγων, ἡ τοῦ συντάγματος ἡμῶν σοι ἀπέσταλται ἄμβλωσις· τί σκοπησομένῳ; τῇ ἀποστολῇ μέν, διάθεσιν φιλίας οὐκ ἐνδεᾶ· τοῦτο γὰρ οἶδεν χαρακτηρίζειν ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν σπουδαζομένων ἡμῖν ἀνακοίνωσις· τῇ ἐπισκέψει δέ, σπουδὴν μὴ τὰ συντρέχοντα ἔχουσαν. Καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην μέν, οἰκεῖα τῶν τρόπων ποιῶν, προστίθει τὸ εὔγνωμον· ἐπαινετὸν γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε ἦθος ἀπηχὲς εὔχρηστον, οὔτε θησαυρὸς κεκρυμμένος ἐπωφελής.

X

THE PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The Patriarchal School at Constantinople probably dates from the fifth century, if not from the time of Constantine. But it seems to be first attested in the Patriarchate of Sergius I (610-638), when Stephanos of Alexandria is given the title *οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος* (1). Though no comprehensive history of it has yet been written, recent research has thrown much light upon its changing structure and the changing role which it played in Byzantine society. In particular, studies by Fuchs (2), Bréhie (3), and Dvorník (4) have clearly esta-

(1) Cf. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen Konstantinopels* [Byzantinisches Archiv 8], 1926, 8-9. The Patriarchal School is mentioned again by Ananias of Shirag (v. 600-650) (cf. L. Bréhier, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 21 (1941) 43-44 ; *B.Z.* 6 (1897) 572-573), and in the proceedings of the Council in Trullo of 692 (Balsamon, *PG* 137, 736), so its existence in the seventh century is beyond reasonable doubt. Fuchs, *op. cit.* 5 argues against its earlier existence. But his arguments, being *ex silentio*, are not entirely convincing, and consideration of the need for an educated clergy, and of the examples set by the schools of Alexandria, Nisibis, etc., makes it probable that some kind of school under the direction of the Patriarch of Constantinople existed from an early date. I am unable to understand H. G. Beck's remark (*Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 1959, 117) « So war es im byzantinischen Patriarchat doch erst Kaiser Alexios I, der ... ein geistliches Lehramt schuf », with its reference to Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des öströmischen Reiches* 1236, anno 1107. To take only a single example, Theophylact of Achrida is attested as *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* before 1090 (Beck, *op. cit.* 649).

(2) F. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, particularly pp. 35-41.

(3) L. Bréhier, *Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople*, *Byz.* 3 (1926) 73-94, 4 (1927/28) 13-28 ; Id. *L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance*, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 21 (1941) 34-69).

(4) F. Dvornik, *Photius et la réorganisation de l'Académie patriarcale*, *AB* 68 [*Mélanges Paul Peeters* II], (1950), 108-125.

blished the distinction between the Patriarchal School and the Imperial University, a distinction which is still overlooked by some scholars (1).

In the twelfth century the Patriarchal School stands at the centre of Byzantine culture. It is sufficient to mention that among those who taught there at this time were Niketas of Serrae, Gregory of Corinth, and Eustathios. On public occasions of all kinds members of its staff were called upon to deliver panegyrics, funeral orations, and other official speeches, the texts of which were preserved and disseminated. Much occasional poetry was also produced by members of the Patriarchal School. Its role in the expression and formation of public opinion was clearly an important one. The least deviation by a member of the School from official policy created an awkward situation. Hence we find its teachers deeply involved in theological controversies of the time (2). A successful career as a teacher in the Patriarchal School was regularly rewarded by transference from the *θρόνος* of a *διδάσκαλος* to that of a bishop. Thus after the better part of a lifetime spent in the intense, if esoteric, intellectual life of the metropolis, a man might find himself isolated in a remote provincial capital, sometimes the only effective representative of the state power, always overloaded with business, and occasionally called on to deal with invading armies and sacked cities (3). That these prelates often coped brilliant y with their new and daunting

(1) Cf. Ph. Kukules, *Εἰς τὸ οἰκουμενικὸν διδασκαλεῖον*, *Les paralipomènes* [publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie 3] 1954, 43-51 ; Id., *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός* I, i, 1948, 136.

(2) An example is the condemnation of Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* and Nikephoros Basilakes in 1157. Other examples will be cited later.

(3) E. g. Michael Italicus, Metropolitan of Philippopolis, who negotiated with the crusading army in 1147 (Nik. Chon. ed. Bonn p. 83, 8 ff.), and Eustathios, Archbishop of Thessalonika at the time of the Norman capture in 1185 (his own account of the events and the part he played in them, *Eustazio di Tessalonica. La espugnazione di Tessalonica* ed. St. Kyriakidis [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi e Monumenti : Testi 5], Palermo 1961).

responsibilities is a testimony not only to their own strength of character, but also to the educational tradition of the Patriarchal School.

The Patriarchal School during most, and perhaps all, of its history, provided a full secular education as a propaedeutic to theological studies. In the period under review we find beside the three principal theological teachers, the *διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* or *οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος*, the *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου* and the *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτῆρος*, a *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* together with a number of subordinate teachers. These four named teachers appear n the various lists of ecclesiastical *ὀφφίκια*, their exact position varying from list to list (1). In these lists the various offices in the Patriarchal hierarchy are usually arranged in pentads (which may in fact contain more than five items, the first pentad including, from the last decade of the twelfth century, the *πρωτέκδικος* in addition to the *οἰκονόμος*, the *σακκελάριος*, the *σκευοφύλαξ*, the *χαρτοφύλαξ* and *ὁ τοῦ σακκελίου*) (2). The teachers normally appear distributed between different pentads, but there is some evidence in an unpublished speech of Constantine-Cyril Stilbes (on which see second part of this paper) that for certain purposes they were arranged in a pentad of their own Be that as it may, it is important in trying to reconstruct the careers of these officials to bear in mind that they are members of a hierarchically ordered profession, in which moves are normally in an upward direction. When we hear of a man holding, at undetermined dates, various appointments which appear in the list of *officia*, one should assume in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that they held the appointments in order of seniority. Scholars have sometimes erred in this matter

The purpose of the present paper is to make a preliminary

(1) A survey of the published lists appears in J. Zhishman, *Die Synoden und die Episkopal-Ämter in der morgenländischen Kirche*, 1867, 95-97. Cf. also H. G. Beck, *op. cit.* 120. A number of lists in the notes of Gretser and Goar to Ps.-Codinus *De officiis* (ed. Bonn pp. 114-117). There are also a certain number of unpublished lists. They are all difficult to date with any precision.

(2) Cf. V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, No 1190.

study of two problems. First, the locations of the various teaching establishments comprised in the Patriarchal School, on which much work has already been done by Fuchs, Bréhier, and Dvorník. Second, to identify all known teachers during the twelfth century, list their works, published and unpublished, and reconstruct as far as possible their careers; this is almost entirely new ground. Such a study can only be provisional, because so much of the evidence lies concealed in manuscripts, in the form of speeches, homilies, and letters of teachers and their contemporaries. These are often contained in miscellaneous manuscripts of the kind which fared ill at the hands of older cataloguers. Even where the items are adequately catalogued, the texts themselves often contain information on the problems concerning us, such as a summary of the career of the speakers or the date of his promotion. This information is frequently clad in such indirect and allusive language as to be missed by the hasty reader. I have read a number of these unpublished texts, others I know so far only from catalogue references, others no doubt are still buried in uncatalogued collections, or under such uninformative rubrics as « Byzantine miscellany ». I hope that the following notes may stimulate others to further researches.

Location of Schools

The theological teaching of the Patriarchal School seems to have been conducted in St. Sophia itself. We hear of a *διδασκαλεῖον* there in Const. Porphyr., *De caerimoniis*, pp. 126, 157 Bonn (1). There are many references to the distinction between those members of the staff of the school who teach *ἔξω* and the theological teachers. For instance Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* in his inaugural lecture as *οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος* delivered shortly before 1156, tells us that he held two appointments *ἔξωθεν* — these will be discussed later — and then *εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς ὅρος κληρονομίας* he became successively *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτηρίου, τοῦ ἀποστόλου* and *τοῦ*

(1) On its location cf. E. M. Antoniades, *Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας* I, 1907, 66.

εὐαγγελίου (1). Similarly Michael Italicus, in his inaugural lecture shortly before 1143 speaks of various early appointments and then goes on *ἔνθεν τοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἄνιμεν τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ὀκρίβαντας καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνυψοῦμεν* (2). He too was successively teacher of the Psaltér, the Epistles, and the Gospels.· Constantine Stilbes, in his inaugural lecture as *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου*, delivered in the last decade of the twelfth century, speaking of two subordinate teaching posts and the three principal theological professorships, says *ἔξωθεν ἡ δυάς, ἔνδοθεν ἡ τριάς* (3) These examples could readily be multiplied.

Presumably the three theological teachers had separate lecture-rooms in St. Sophia. The only passage referring to this which I have noticed is so figurative and obscure that I hesitate to interpret it. Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* describes the three theological professorships which he held in the following terms: *εἰσαχθεὶς γὰρ εἰς ὅρος κληρονομίας κατεφυτεύθην μετὰ τοῦ ψάλλοντος « ἐγὼ δὲ ὡσεὶ ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ » εἶτα καὶ εἰς ἕτοιμον κατοικητήριον ᾧ ἐνῴκησεν ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶν Χριστός ... μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο κατοικητήριον εἰσήγμεθα εἰς ἁγίασμα ὃ κατειργάσω, κύριε, ταῖς χερσίν.*

There were many « out-stations » or branches of the School in the twelfth century. I shall not attempt to arrange them in order of seniority. First, a School is well attested in the church of the *θεοτόκος τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων*, about 150 yards north of St. Sophia, fairly high on the Acropolis, but on slightly lower ground than the Great Church (4). In the confused account of the alleged destruction of the School by Leo III in 726 the *οἰκουμενικὸν διδασκαλεῖον* is stated to be *ἔγγιστα τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων*. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis* p. 167 Bonn mentions a *διδασκαλεῖον* in the Chalkoprateia. In the eleventh century we have a letter of Michael Psellos (*ep.* 168 Sathas) to a *μαΐστωρ τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων* who

(1) Scorial. Y-II-10, fol. 318.
(2) Bononiensis Biblioteca Universitaria 2412 fol. 79, Barocci 131 fol. 233.
(3) Barocci 25 fol. 277.
(4) Cf. R. Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*, 246-251.

appears to be a philosopher. Christopher of Mitylene poem 11 is addressed *Εἰς τὸν μαΐστορα τῆς σχολῆς τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων* (1). The references to schedography in the poem imply that it was a school of *γραμματική* rather than of rhetoric. Paris suppl. gr. 1096 was written in 1070 by *Πέτρος γραμματικὸς τῆς σχολῆς Χαλκοπρατείων*. Niketas *ὁ τῶν Σερρῶν*, the future Metropolitan of Herakleia, was in his young days *πρώξιμος* of the school at Chalkoprateia (2). Vat. gr. 358 was written in the eleventh century by *Εὐστάθιος πρώξιμος σχολῆς παρθένου* (3) (cf. Christopher of Mitylene poem 11. 15 *τῇ σχολῇ τῆς παρθένου*). Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*, describing his first teaching post, says that it was in *τὸ κατάσκιον ὄρος τῆς μητρὸς* (4). Niketas and Michael held these posts as stages in a career at the Patriarchal School. Since the time of Justinian the church of Chalkoprateia, as well as that of St. Theodore *τὰ Σφωρακίου*, was served by the clergy of St. Sophia (5). There is therefore no doubt that it was in the twelfth century, and probably many centuries earlier, a part of the Patriarchal School. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whatever may have been the position earlier, it was a grammar school, concerned with secular education.

Another church closely associated with St. Sophia in which there was a school was *Ἅγιος Πέτρος πλησίον τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας* Michael Psellos delivered a funeral oration *εἰς Νικήταν μαΐστωρα τῆς σχολῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου* (6). Niketas taught *γραμματική* .A manuscript of the Catena on Luke by Niketas of Herakleia (7) was copied *εἰς τὴν σχολὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου* in

(1) E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, 7.
(2) Barocci 68 fol. 94: *Δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, δι᾽οὗ καὶ διήνυσα τὸ φιλοτέχνημα πολυωφελέστατον ὁ σὸς ἱκέτης Νίκης ἐπώνυμος, Χαλκοπρατίων πρώξιμος, ἀνηψιὸς τῶν Σερρῶν τοῦ ποιμένος, ὅσπερ τὸν ἐπώνυμον διὰ οἶκτον ἐδέξατο στέφανον.*
(3) R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* II p. 44.
(4) Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 318.
(5) *Corpus Iuris Romani*, Nov. III, i. pr.
(6) Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 5. 87-96.
(7) Vat. gr. 1611; cf. J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukas-Katene des Niketas von Herakleia* 34-37, C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* VI, 274.

1116 or 1117. Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*, speaking of his second teaching appointment, held after that at Chalkoprateia, says that it was at *ὁ ἀκρογωνιαῖος λίθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (1). This surely refers to the church of St. Peter. This church was part of the complex of buildings of St. Sophia (2). Janin suggests that the school of St. Peter was in some other church of the same name which he does not attempt to identify (3). But in view of the close association of this particular church with St. Sophia, it is a likely location for a branch of the Patriarchal School. This school too seems to have been an institution for secular education.

The church of St. Theodore *ἐν τοῖς Σφωρακίου* was also the site of a school. Christopher of Mitylene, poems 9 and 10 (4), writes of the *μαΐστωρ* Leon and the *πρώξιμος* Stylianos, who seem to have been grammarians, and perhaps rhetoricians as well. At any rate the pupils engaged in schedography and took part in *ἀγῶνες τῶν λόγων*, in which *τῶν πάντων κρατέουσι νέων*. Eustratios, the future Metropolitan of Nicaea, was described in the minutes of the proceedings against John Italos in 1082 as *ὁ γεγονὼς πρώξιμος τῆς σχολῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τῶν Σφωρακίου* (5). There is no direct evidence that this school was under the direct control of the Patriarch. But as it is situated in a church only a short distance from St. Sophia (6), and served by the clergy of St. Sophia and as at least one of its leaders in due course became a bishop, there is every probability that it was in fact a college or branch of the Patriarchal School. Whether it continued to exist in the twelfth century, and if so what subjects were taught there, is uncertain.

We hear of a school in the church of the *Τεσσαράκοντα Μάρτυρες* in the eleventh or twelfth century in which

(1) Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 318.
(2) R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 412.
(3) R. Janin, *op. cit.* 412.
(4) E. Kurtz, *op. cit.* 5-6.
(5) Ed. F. Uspenskij, *Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 2 (1897) 64.
(6) R. Janin, *op. cit.* 160.

schedography was taught, i.e. a grammar school (1). It is not clear which of the eight churches so dedicated is meant. But by far the most likely suggestion is that it was the *Τεσσαράκοντα Μάρτυρες τῆς Μέσης*. This church, not far from St. Sophia, and opposite St. Theodore *ἐν τοῖς Σφωρακίου* (2), was where Leo the Mathematician taught before he became Metropolitan of Thessalonika (3), i.e. when he was a teacher in the Patriarchal School. It is therefore likely that at a later period it was one of the colleges of the Patriarchal School.

There was in the eleventh century a school in the church of the *Θεοτόκος τῆς Διακονίσσης* (4). In a letter addressed to the Patriarch, Michael Psellos (*ep.* 162 Sathas) supports the request of the *μαΐστωρ* of this school to be transferred to the School of St. Peter's. The fact that the decision rests with the Patriarch is sufficient evidence that both schools formed part of the Patriarchal School. I do not know of any direct attestation of the continued existence of this school in the twelfth century. To judge by Psellos' letter, it was an institution for elementary secular teaching.

In the church of Sts. Peter and Paul *ἐν τῷ ὀρφανοτροφείῳ* there was a school which is the subject of a celebrated passage of the Alexiad of Anna Comnena (II, p. 290 ff. Reifferscheid) (5). Fuchs, *Höhere Schulen*, 56-57 supposes it to have been founded by Alexios I, and to have been an imperial institution, distinct from the Patriarchal School. In fact there is plenty of evidence that it was a college of the Patriarchal School, and that it long antedated Alexios, who merely enlarged or refounded it. When Constantine Cyril, the apostle

(1) Cf. G. Schirò, La schedografia a Bisanzio nei secoli XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri, *Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata* 3 (1949) 11-29.

(2) R. Janin, *op. cit.* 160, 499.

(3) Cedrenus, II, p. 168 Bonn. E. E. Lipšich, *Očerki istorii vizantijskogo obščestva i Kul'tury : VIII — pervaja polovina IX veka*, Moscow-Leningrad 1961, 352 wrongly casts doubt on this detail.

(4) On this church cf. R. Janin, *op. cit.* 181-182.

(5) The school is also briefly mentioned, in connection with Alexios I, by Zonaras III p. 745, Michael Glykas p. 621, Ephraim vv. 3633-3640, and Synopsis Sathae, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 7, p. 178.

of the Slavs, returned to Constantinople in 861 from his embassy to the Khazars, he « sat in the church of the Holy Apostles » (1). As Dvorník correctly argues, the verb implies that he was given a teaching appointment, and is an allusion to the *θρόνος* of the *διδάσκαλος*. The church is presumably that of Sts. Peter and Paul, which is often referred to in Byzantine texts as « The Holy Apostles » or « St. Paul's church ». It also implies that he had a new appointment, and did not return to his old post in the university. The new appointment was probably in the Patriarchal School. His subject would be philosophy, which is what he taught before. In the early decades of the twelfth century, Stephanos Skylitzes, according to the funeral oration upon him by Theodore Prodromos, as soon as he had completed his education, *ψήφῳ βασιλικῇ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν διέπειν ἔλαχε θρόνον τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Παύλου διταριβῆς, ἔφεδρος μὲν τῷ τέως (τὴν γάρ τοι προεδρίαν ὁ γεραίτερος ἐκόσμει τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν), οὐ πολλοῖς δ' ἐν μέσῳ ἐνιαυτοῖς καὶ αὐτὴν ἀνεζωσμένος τὴν προεδρίαν* (2). This is presumably the school in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul. The words *ψήφῳ βασιλικῇ* may suggest that this was an appointment with which the Patriarch had no concern. But a few lines below we read that many complained to the *Patriarch* that they had better claims to the post than the young and unknown Stephanos. There is in fact plenty of evidence that at any rate the non-theological teachers of the Patriarchal School were paid in part out of imperial funds in the twelfth century, and that the emperor had a hand in their nomination. Gregorios Antiochos, in his funeral oration on his former teacher Nikolaos *ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον* (q.v.), says of Nikolaos' appointment as *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* that *ἀνθρωπικώτερον τοῦτο* (scil. than his appointments as teacher of the epistles and the gospels) *κἀκ τῆς βασιλείου καὶ*

(1) « v crkvi svetikhŭ apostolovŭ siěde », *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* I, Prague, 1856, 26, quoted by F. Dvorník, *Photius et la réorganisation de l'Académie patriarcale*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 [*Mélanges P. Peeters* II] (1950), 121.

(2) L. Petit, Theodori Prodromi Monodia in Stephanum Scylitzem, *Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 8 (1903)

ἀρχικῆς δεξιᾶς τὸ προβεβλῆσθαι αὐχεῖ (1). And Constantine Stilbes, in an address to Patriarch George II Xiphilinos delivered in the church of St. Paul, i.e. while he was holding a teaching appointment there, speaks of receiving *ἀγγέλων ἄρτος*, an elegant but hackneyed reference to subventions from the imperial family of the Angeloi (2). There is therefore every reason to suppose that Stephanos Skylitzes was a member of the Patriarchal School. His later promotion to the Metropolitan See of Trebizond is in accord with this suppos tion. Basileios Pediadites (q.v.) is described in a minute of canonical proceedings against him in 1168 as *ὁ μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν γραμματικῶν τοῦ Παύλου* (3) He was a deacon of St. Sophia, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch, and clearly, as shown by his other works, a member of the Patriarchal School. And in spite of a youthful lapse he received the usual reward and ended his days as Metropolitan of Corcyra.

Towards the end of the century Constantine Stilbes, who had a long career in the Patriarchal School and finally became Metropolitan of Cyzicus, in his inaugural lecture as *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου* said that his first appointment, which he held for twelve years, was *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παύλου τεμένει* (4). And two of his surviving speeches were delivered in that church (5). Finally, after the restoration of 1261, Manuel-Maximos Holobolos was appointed to the school of St. Paul's in the Orphanotropheion (6). But Holobolos is described elsewhere as *ῥήτωρ τῶν ῥητόρων*, the late Byzantine title of the professor of rhetoric in the Patriarchal School (7). There can be little doubt that from the ninth century to the thirteenth, the

(1) Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 268.

(2) Cf. Constantine Stilbes, item 4 below. The passage, which occurs in fol. 278 of the manuscript, is quite unambiguous: *ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄρτος μακρὰν ἐξ ἡμῶν· λεγέσθω γὰρ τοῦτο νῦν ἡ ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ βασιλείου συνήθης τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κάμνουσι σιτομέτρησις.*

(3) Cf. second part of this paper.

(4) Barocci 25 fol. 276.

(5) Cf. below, under Constantine Stilbes, items 4 and 5.

(6) Pachymeres II p. 284 Bonn.

(7) M. Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*, 1906, 30.

school in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul formed a part of the Patriarchal School.

Nikolaos Mesarites, in his *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles*, gives a long account of a school situated there, and divided into two sections, one for grammar, elementary music, and elementary arithmetic, the other for rhetoric, philosophy, medicine and higher mathematics. The school enjoyed the patronage of Patriarch John XI Kamateros (1198-1206). Fuchs supposed this school to be an imperial institution. But Bréhier (1), Dvorník (2) and others have since made it clear that it was part of the Patriarchal School. The text has recently been admirably edited, translated, and commented upon by Professor Glanville M. Downey (3), and I shall add nothing to what he has said on the subject, save to suggest that the school was a very recent foundation, connected with the renovation of the church and the restoration of its dignity after its violation by Alexios III. Perhaps the various departments had been transferred thither from other churches. At any rate there is no trace of this school earlier in the century.

This list certainly does not comprise all the sites at which branches of the Patriarchal School were in operation in the twelfth century. For instance, Constantine Stilbes in his inaugural lecture tells us that his second appointment involved a move from Sts. Peter and Paul to a church nearer St. Sophia and dedicated to Christ *ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήραμεν εἰς σταθμὸν τὸν τοῖς ἐντὸς τούτοις καὶ προβαθμίοις ἀγχίθυρον, ἐκ τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα* (4) As one of Stilbes' surviving speeches was delivered *εἰς τὸν ναὸν χαλκίτην* (item 1 in the list of his works below), there is some likelihood that the location of his second appointment, as Dar-

(1) L. Bréhier, *L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux à Byzance, Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 21 (1941) 54.

(2) F. Dvornik, *op. cit.* 108-125.

(3) Glanville M. Downey, *Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.* N.S. 47, part 6, 1957.

(4) Barocci 25 fol. 276.

rouzès has suggested, was in the Church of Christ in the Chalke, on the other side of the Augusteion opposite St. Sophia. But the matter is uncertain. It should be noted, too, that we do not know where the *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* had his lecture room. I suspect that it was in the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Orphanotropheion, but proof seems lacking. Be that as it may, it is clear that the Patriarchal School in the twelfth century was a vast and complex organisation, providing secular education at all levels as well as specialised theological training, and completely putting in the shade the imperial university.

Teachers of the Patriarchal School

In compiling a list of probable teachers in the Patriarchal School during the twelfth century I shall depend in the main upon the titles under which their works appear in manuscripts. These titles often contain information which cannot be obtained from the text of the works, and not infrequently end with a critical judgment. It is clear that in the main the twelfth-century material surviving in miscellanies — usually of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries (1) — is excerpted from collected editions, prepared by the author himself or his literary executor. We have the proem to such a collected edition of the works of Nikephoros Basilakes (2), and a protheoria written by Michael Choniates to a collection of his works (3). The corpus of letters, *διδασκαλίαι*, a funeral oration, and official documents by Georgios Tornikes I in Vindob. phil. gr. 321 (where it has been broken up owing to disarrangement of the gatherings) is an example of such a collected edition taken over more or

(1) Examples are *Scorial. Y. II-10*, the queen of Byzantine miscellanies, of the thirteenth century (hardly, as has been suggested by B. Laourdas, in the hand of Eustathios, though the resemblance is quite noticeable), *Oxon. Barocci* 131, *Vindob. phil gr.* 321, *Laur. Conv. soppr.* 2, *Ven. Marc.* 11.22, all of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

(2) Ed. E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Institut*, 7 (1873) 135-157.

(3) Ed. S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* 1879, I.

less entire into a miscellany. Not infrequently items appear in manuscripts with a number referring to their position in the collected edition from which they have been excerpted. Thus three of the four surviving speeches of Niketas Seides are numbered from 21 to 23 (1); one of the homilies of Constantine-Cyril Stilbes is entitled in the unique manuscript *διδασκαλία τρίτη* (2); one of the speeches of Georgios Tornikes II — as it happens, the third in order in that particular manuscript — is entitled *λόγος δεύτερος* (3). I labour this point simply to show that the information regarding date, place or occasion of a particular item is likely to come from a good source, and not to be a mere construction by the compiler of a miscellany.

In some cases an author states in his text that he holds this or that appointment in the Patriarchal School. This is the best evidence. Only slightly less good is a statement in the title of a work. Here however a distinction must be made between terms like *οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος* or *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* which refer explicitly to particular offices, and ambiguous and vague terms like *διδάσκαλος*, *γραμματικός*, *φιλόσοφος*, which are not in themselves sufficient proof of membership of the Patriarchal School. Other types of evidence are participation in a ceremony in which members of the Patriarchal School played a principal part, e.g. the delivery of a speech in the Patriarcheion at Epiphany (*ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Φώτων*) or the feast of St. Lazarus; association with a church or other building known to be occupied by the Patriarchal School; reference to promotion by the Patriarch, etc. Most of the persons listed below are certainly members of the Patriarchal School; but one or two can at the moment be only provisionally so described. The reasons for the uncertainty in each case will be explained.

In listing the works of each writer, I have given the most recent place of publication for published works. For unpublished works, I have given the title and incipit and a

(1) Cf. I. Schissel, *Niketas Seidos. Eine Handschriftenstudie*, *Divus Thomas*, 15 (1937) 78-90.

(2) Cod. Vat. gr. 305, fol. 137v.

(3) Cod. Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 343.

reference to the manuscript or manuscripts in which each work appears, so far as is known to me. The order in which the works appear in the lists is without significance. In the notes on the career of each teacher, I have given such information as I can regarding the dates of works, and have tried to distinguish those arising out of the author's activity as a teacher in the Patriarchal School from others, perhaps belonging to an earlier or later period of his life. I have included only such lost works as are well attested.

Leon Balianites

Works

1. *Διδασκαλία τοῦ σοφωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ διδασκάλου κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Βαλιανίτου ὑπεκστάντος ἑτέρῳ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ ἀξιώματος.* incip : *τίς ἡ παλινωδία αὕτη ; τί τὸ παλίνστροφον* ; Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 48v-55).
2. *Τοῦ Βαλιανίτου κυροῦ Λέοντος διδασκαλία καὶ ἔπαινος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Βασίλειον.* incip : *εἰ δὴ καὶ μυρίῳ τὸ πλῆθος* (ibid. fol. 139-147).
3. *τοῦ Βαλιανίτου κυροῦ Λέοντος διδασκαλία.* incip : *'Εκ* (sic) *εὐφραίνεται πατὴρ ἐπὶ ἀπαιδεύτῳ* (ibid. fol. 182v-188v).
4. *Διδασκαλία ἑτέρα.* incip : *ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα* (ibid. fol. 186v-189v).
5. *Διδασκαλία ἑτέρα.* incip : *...ενου πλέκεται καὶ Δαβίδ* (ibid. fol. 198v-192v).
6. *Ἑτέρα διδασκαλία.* incip : *ἐναντιοπαθεῖ καὶ Μωσῆς.* (ibid fol. 192v-196v).
7. *Διδασκαλία τοῦ Βαλιανίτου κυροῦ Λέοντος ἔτι ὄντος διδασκάλου πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Βασίλειον, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς ἀναλήψεως.* incip : unknown. (ibid. fol. 541, 542, now lost).
8. *Ἑτέρα διδασκαλία τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονότος ψαλτῆρος παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Βασιλείου.* incip : unknown. (ibid. fol. 542-546, now lost).

Career

Balianites was appointed *didaskalos tou psalteros*, presumably after occupying some inferior post, by the Patriarch Basil II Kamateros (1182-1187) (8 tit.). He later, probably in the same patriarchate became *oikoumenicos didaskalos* (1 tit.), from which post he was deposed (1 tit.), perhaps in the redistribution of offices which followed the deposition of Andronikos Comnenus. It is not clear whether his tenure of the *didaskalia tou psalteros* preceded or followed that of John Mesarites (s.v.) ; probably the former. Until the texts of his homilies, particularly n° 1, have been examined we can go no further (1). There seems to be no trace of Balianites except in this group of homilies preserved in the Escorial manuscript. He may be related to the *grammatikos* Niketas Balianites involved in negotiations with Venice in 1182 (2).

Nikephoros Basilakes

Works

1. Progymnasmata (ed. chr. Walz., *Rh. Gr.* 1. 423-525).
2. *'Εγκώμιον κυνός* (ed. E. Miller, *Mélanges orientaux ... à l'occasion du 6e Congrès International des Orientalistes réunis à Leyde*, Paris, 1883, 255-267).
3. Proem to a collection of his works (ed. E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Association* 7 (1873) 135-157).
4. Monody on his brother Constantine (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 228-244).
5. Panegyric on Patriarch Nikolaos Muzalon (ed. E. Korbetti, *'Ελληνικά* 7 (1934) 301-332).
6. Panegyric on John II Comnenus (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B.*

(1) Since this paper was sent to the press I have had an opportunity to study Balianites' first *didaskalia*. It was delivered in the reign of Isaac Angelus, after the latter's victories over Normans and Bulgarians (*Σκύθαι*), i.e., probably after October 1187 (fol. 53v). Balianites had been dismissed from his post as *didaskalos ou euange..ou* for certain *πλημμελήματα* (fol. 49), and restored to it by a newly appointed Patriarch, to whom he offers fulsome thanks. The Patriarch, to whom he offers fulsome thanks. The Patriarch addressed must be Niketas II Muntanes, who succeeded Basil II Kamateros in 1186. There is little other positive information to be derived from this text. The second *didaskalia*, which I have also seen, contains a long, but very obscure, account of the career of Basil II Kamateros before he became Patriarch (fol. 141-146v : there is no fol 145). This would repay further study.

(2) Cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* N° 1590,

330-361); on the authorship cf. P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike*, Diss, Munich, 1960, 13-16).

7. *Λόγος εἰς τὸν σεβαστὸν κυρὸν Ἀδριανὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος κυροῦ Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ αὐταδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου, τὸν διὰ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωάννην μετονομασθέντα.* incip: *καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν* (scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 109v-417 cf. Wirth, *loc. cit.*).
8. *τοῦ Βασιλάκη κυροῦ Νικηφόρου λόγος εἰς τὸν πρωτέκδικον καὶ νομοφύλακα καὶ ὀρφανοτρόφον κυρὸν Ἀλέξιον τὸν Ἀριστηνόν.* incip: *ἐδόκει ποτὲ τῷ μύθῳ* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 403v-409v).
9. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος εἰς τὸν πανσέβαστον σεβαστὸν καὶ μέγαν δομέστικον πάσης ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσεως κυρὸν Ἰωάννην.* incip: *καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρί* (text incomplete, Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 527v-536).
10. *Τοῦ Βασιλάκη κυροῦ Νικηφόρου μονῳδία πρός τινα φίλον αὐτοῦ.* incip: *φίλον σαφῶς γνῶναι μὲν δυσχερές, ἀποβάλλειν δὲ ὡς ἀφόρητον.* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 253v-255v, text incomplete).
11. Letter to two friends (ed. A. Garzya, *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini* N.S. 7 (1959) 59-64).
12. *Ἑτέρα ἐπιστολή.* incip: *τοῖς ἐμοῖς ποτε ῥήτορσιν* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 200).
13. *Ἑτέρα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτου τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀδελφῷ* incip: *ἐξεθήλυνέ με τὸ σπλάγχνον* (ibid.).
14. *Ἑτέρα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους μαθητάς.* incip: *Μή με ἀγραψίας γράψητε* (ibid. 200-200v).
15. A series of poems and other works, now lost, described in 3 (see below).

Career

The fixed point in Basilakes' career is his deposition from the post of *didaskalos tou apostolou* in 1156, along with the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* and *maistor ton rhetoron* Michael Thessalonicensis (q.v.) (Nik. Chon. 276. 1). He was in this office when he delivered 4., according to the title. Basilakes and his colleague made a statement before the synod which

appears to be preserved in Athous Laur. 3102 fol. 30-30v. *τὰ εἰσαχθέντα καὶ λαληθέντα παρὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ γεγονότος διδασκάλου, πρωτεκδίκου καὶ μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ Νικηφόρου διδασκάλου τῶν ἀποστόλων* (sic) *τοῦ Βασιλάκη, τῶν διακόνων τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, οἷς καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης Δυρραχίου ἠκολούθησε καὶ ὧν προέστη ἐγγράφως καὶ Σωτήριχος διάκονος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας κτλ.* incip: *τοῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ κοσμοσωτηρίου πάθους.* Basilakes had previously held a rhetorical teaching post, probably that of *maistor ton rhetoron* (3, pp. 149, 153 etc.; 10 passim., 14 tit. etc.). In 3 he refers to his transference from rhetorical to theological teaching (p. 150 *ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσοφίας λειμῶνα παρακύψας ἑάλων, κτλ.* p. 152 *εἰς τὸ τῆς διδασκαλικῆς ὕψος ἀναβάντα*). As *didaskalos tou apostolou* he fell foul of the then patriarch, who ordered him to confine his exegesis to the doctrines expounded in the patriarch's own commentary on the Pauline epistles, written for a *γυνὴ βραχύπονος καὶ ὀλιγόνους τὰ θεῖα* (3, p. 152-153).

He does not seem to have been restored to favour after 1156. 11 was written from exile some time after his deposition. Garzya, *op. cit.*, 59 suggests that he survived until 1180.

1 and 2 are products of his rhetorical teaching. No serious attempt has been made to date his other works, apart from 11.

A number of works not surviving are mentioned in 3., including four satirical works in verse, entitled *Ὀνοθρίαμβος, Στύπαξ ἢ παραδεισοπλαστία, Στεφανῖται,* and *Ταλαντοῦχος Ἑρμῆς*, as well as unnamed poems in iambic and trochaic verse; letters written for a maternal uncle; *Μονάδες*; a speech against Bagoas; *Ἐξηγηματικὸς λόγος*; *Ὀρθολέκτης*; and other unnamed grammatical works.

Though we need not accept Basilakes' flattering estimate of himself (3. passim), he was clearly a major figure in the literary and learned world of the middle of the century, and many factors other than his theological views must have been involved in his downfall.

X

Literature

C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im 12. Jahrhundert*, 1888, 72-77.

F. Uspensky, *O erki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti*, 1891, 223-225.

V. Grumel, *Regestes* N° 1039.

A. Garzya, *op. cit.*

BASILEIOS

Works

None known.

Career

Basileios is attested as *maistor ton rhetoron* among those present at the Synod of 1166 (Mai, *S. V.N.C.* 4. 58). He is likely to have been Eustathios' predecessor in office. He can scarcely be identified with Basileios Pediadites (q.v.).

NIKEPHOROS CHRYSOBERGES

Works

1 . Address to Alexios III of 1200 (?) (ed. M. Treu. *Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos orationes tres* [Progr. d. Königl. Friedrichsgymnasiums zu Breslau], 1892, 1-12).
2. Address to Alexios III of 1202 (ibid. 13-23).
3. Address to Alexios III of 1203 (ibid. 14-25).
4. *Λόγος προσφωνητικὸς ἢ καὶ εὐχαριστήριος εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου κυρὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μεσοποταμίτην.* incip : *τὸν εὐεργέτην προσφθέγγομαι δίκαιον γάρ.* (Vindob. phil. gr. fol. 260v-262v, Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 283v-285v).
5. *Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην κυρὸν Νικήταν τὸν Μουντανοῦ*(sic) *τοῦ Χρυσοβέργη κυροῦ Νικηφόρου.* incip : *τάχα ὦ σύλλογος ὑμεῖς ἱερός* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 23-26) (1).
6. *Λόγος ῥητορικὸς δεύτερος, ἀναγνωσθεὶς εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Ἰωάννην τὸν Καματηρὸν κατὰ τὴν ε̄ νοεμβρίου τοῦ ἔτους ,ςψι' ἔτους* (sic). incip : *ἀπέκειτο καὶ τοῦτο, θειοτάτη συναγωγή.* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 246-253v) (1).

(1) On this speech cf. P. WIRTH, *Oriens Christianus* 46 (1962) 124-126.

X

7. *Ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Δημητριάδος.* incip : *ὦ φιλίας θεσμοὶ καὶ σύνδεσμοι πόθου* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 262v-263).
8. Progymnasmata (ed. F. Widmann, *B.N.J.* 12 (1935/36) 15-25).
9. Iambic poem on Dormition of the Virgin (ed. Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 4 (1929) 193-194, S. G. Mercati, Poesie giambiche di Niceforo Chrysoberges, Metropolita di Sardi, *Miscellanea Galbiati* II [Fontes Ambrosiani 26] 1951, 267-268).
10. Two iambic epitaphs on his uncle Theodoros Galenos, Metropolitan of Sardis (ed. S. G. Mercati, *op. cit.* 262-264).
11. (?) Five other short iambic poems occurring along with *op. cit.* 262-266).

Career.

Probably to be identified with N. Chr. *patriarchikos notarios*, signatory of a synodal decision of 1172 (2). Nephew on maternal side of Theodoros Galenos, Metropolitan of Sardis (10). Addresses Constantine Mesopotamites probably before his departure for Genoa in 1188 (3) (4 tit.). Probably *maistor ton rhetoron* during patriarchate of Niketas Muntanes (1186-89) (5 tit.), and attested in this office in 1200 (1 tit.), 202 (2 tit.), and 1203 (3 tit.). Succeeded his uncle as Metropolitan of Sardis before Latin capture in 1204, when he was still *maistor ton rhetoron* (10, 9 tit.). Signed synodal letter of 1213 (*Viz. Vrem.* 4 (1897) 164-166). All the works listed above except n^os^ 7 and 9-11 belong to his activity as a teacher

(1) Since this paper was sent to the press I have been able to consult photographs of this text. It contains interesting information on the life and writings of John X Kamateros, and is remarkable for the virulence of its anti-Latin sentiments, e.g., *τὴν πάρδαλιν ποικιλμὸς, ὁ κύβος τὴν κάμηλον, καὶ Ἰταλοὺς ὁ τύφος ἐγνώρισεν . οἴδατε τούτων* (*τούτους* cod.) *τὸ ἐν ἔθνεσι σόβημα καθάπερ ἐν τραχήλῳ προμηκυνόμενον, οὕτω κἀν τῇ θεολογίᾳ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν εὐχόμενον* (fol. 251).

(2) V. BENEŠEVIČ, *Catalogus codicum* MSS etc. 290.

(3) Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten* N° 1583, G. STADTMÜLLER, *Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen*, 251.

in the Patriarchal School. There seems to have been a collected edition of his *logoi* (cf. the title of 6), made, to judge from the titles, before his elevation to the see of Sardis, of which débris survive in Scorial. Y-II-10 and Vindob. phil. gr. 321. He belonged to a family prominent in Byzantine public life from the end of the 11th century onwards. The list of bearers of the name Chrysoberges in M. Treu, *op. cit.* 38-39 is supplemented by that in N. A. Bees, *Λέων-Μανουὴλ Μακρός, ἐπίσκοπος Βελλᾶς. Καλοστίπης μητροπολίτης Λαρίσης. Χρυσοβέργης, μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου, E.E.B.Σ.* 2 (1925) 143-144.

Literature

M.Treu, *op. cit.*
S. G. Mercati, *op. cit.*
Germanos, *op. cit.*
F.Widmann, *op. st.*
I.Dujčev, *Proučvanija vărchu bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie*, Sofia, 1945, 91-110.

EUSTATHIOS

An adequate treatment of Eustathios' importance as a scholar and public figure in the second half of the twelfth century, much though it is needed, would go far beyond the bounds of the present paper. However, since many misconceptions regarding his career are still to be found in the most recent biographical accounts, and since an up to date and complete list of his works seems nowhere available, I will provide such a list, compiled to the best of my ability, and continue with a brief account of the main points in his career, with special reference to his activity as a teacher in the Patriarchal School.

Works

A. *Grammatical and philological*

1. *Παρεκβολαί* on *Iliad* (ed. Stallbaum, 1827-30, repr. 1960 (⁵).
2. *Παρεκβολαί* on *Odyssey* (ed. Stallbaum, 1825-6, repr. 1960) (1).

(1) Stallbaum's edition is a mere reprint, with additional errors, of the editio princeps (Rome 1542). A new edition of the commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, based on Eustathios' autograph manuscripts, and accompanied by indications of *fontes* and *testimonia*, is urgently required. Only a team of scholars could undertake it. But if funds were available for publication, such a team could be found.

3. Proem to Commentary in Pindar (the rest of the commentary is lost). (ed. A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina* III, 1927, 285-306).
4. Commentary on Dionysios Periegetes (ed. G. Bernhardy, 1828, 67-316, C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* II, 201).
5. Commentary on some plays of Aristophanes, now lost (cf. D. Holwerda, De Eustathio, Tzetza, Moschopulo, Planude Aristophanis commentoribus, *Mnem.* Ser. IV, 7 (1954) 136-156, with references to literature).
6. Commentary on a collection of epigrams, now lost (cf. S. E. Miller, *Catalogue des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, 1848, VI; but it is possible that the attribution to Eustathios in this lost manuscript is a deliberate falsification) (1).

B. *Theological and Pastoral*

7. First Lenten Homily (2) (ed. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula* 1-7, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 561-584).
8. Second Lenten Homily (ed. Tafel, *Op.* 61-75, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 583-634).
9. Third Lenten Homily (ed. Tafel, *Op.* 76-88, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 633-676).
10. Fourth Lenten Homily (ed. Tafel, *Op.* 125-140, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 677-728).
11. New Year Homily (ed. Tafel, *Op.* 152-157, repr. *M.P.G.* 135. 619-540).

(1) The Eustathios of whose commentary on the *Περὶ στάσεων* of Hermogenes traces survive (Chr. WALZ. *Rh. Gr.* 2.545, 5.353, 7.613, 646, 704) cannot be the archbishop of Thessalonika, as he is cited by John Doxopatres, who seems to have flourished in the earlier part of the eleventh century.

(2) The numbers here given to the Lenten Homilies refer solely to their order in the Basle manuscript, and should not be taken to imply any assumptions regarding the order of their delivery.

12. Homily on Psalm 48 (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 7-13, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 519-540).
13. De emendanda vita monachica (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 214-267, repr. *M.P.G.* 135. 729-910).
14. Dialogue between Theophilos and Hierokles (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 141-145, repr. *M.P.G.* 135. 909-926).
15. Letter to the people of Thessalonica during his exile ed. Tafel, *Op*. 158-165, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 1031-1060).
16. Address to a Stylite (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 182-196, repr. *M.P.G.* 136. 217-264).
17. On Obedience to a Christian Government (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 13-29, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 301-358).
18. On Hypocrisy (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 88-98, repr. *M.P.G.* 136 : 373-408).
19. Reply to charges of implacability (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 98-125, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 407-500).
20. Address to a priest on the title *papas* (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 37-41).
21. Letter on text «Si ausus fueris» etc. (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 46-49).
22. *Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Εὐσταθίου ὑπομνηστικὸν ἐπὶ ὑποθέσει τοιᾷδε.* incip : *διάκονός τις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 26v-30v).
23. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος προεισόδιος τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς.* incip : *ἄγωμεν, ἐντεῦθεν, εὐαγγελικὸς ὁ λόγος* (ibid. fol. 37-44v) (1).
24. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν ἕνα τινὰ φίλοις χρῆσθαι κατ' ἦθος ἐναντιουμένοις.* incip : *οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν ἄρτι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς* (ibid. fol. 46-48v).
25. *Τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Εὐσταθίου, βαρυνθέντος ὅτι ὁ λαὸς ὤκνησεν εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ καταρχῇ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦλ ιτήν.* incip : *ὀνειδισμὸν προσεδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν.* (ibid. fol. 55-56v).
26. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ «κύριε ἐλέησον» σκέψις ἐν δυσὶ πεύσεσι καὶ σχεδίοις διά τινα παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐριστικόν.* (incip : *εἰ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι φλέβα ῥεύματος* (ibid. fol. 50v-60v).
27. Panegyric of St. Philotheos (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 145-151, repr. *M.P.G.* 136. 141-162).

(1) On this text cf. now P. Wirth, *B.Z.* 55 (1962) 21-29.

28. Canon on St. Demetrios (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 166-167, repr. *M.P.G.* 136. 166-167).
29. Panegyric on St. Demetrios (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 167-182, repr. *M.P.G.* 136. 109-216).
30. Martyrium of St. Alpheios and his companions (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 30-35, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 263-284).
31. Akolouthia on St. Alpheios and his companions (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 36-37, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 283-290).
32. Panegyric on the Three Youths in the Fiery Furace (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 49-53, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 289-302).
33. Commentary on iambic Canon for Pentecost of John Damascene (ed. A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* V. 2, (1841), repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 503-754).

C. *Historical and Occasional*

34. Address to Manuel I on occasion of drought (? 1169), (ed. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro*, 1839, 433-439, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 925-932, ed. iterum W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 126-131).
35. Address to Manuel I of 1174 (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B* .92-125).
36. Address to Manuel I when elected Metropolitan of Myra (ed. Tafel, *De Thess.* 401-432, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 933-974 ed. iterum W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 24-57).
37. Address to Manuel I of 1175 (ed. W. Regel *F.R.B.* 1-16).
38. Address to Manuel I of 1178 (ed. W. Regel *F.R.B.* 57-80).
39. Funeral Oration on Manuel I (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 196-214, repr. *M.P.G.* 135, 973-1032).
40. Address to Agnes of France (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 80-92).
42. Address to Isaac Angelos in Philippopolis (ed. Tafel, *Op*. 41-45).
43. Monody on Nikephoros Comnenus (ed. E. Kurtz, *Viz. Vrem.* 17 (1910) 290-302).
44. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου, ἀναγνωσθεὶς κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου, καθ' ἣν ἀναγινώσκειν ἔθος τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ.* incip: *εἴπερ τινὶ τῶν ἁπάντων μεγίστοις* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 157-164v).
45. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Μιχαήλ.* incip : *οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὦ σύλλογος* (ibid. fol. 164v-178v).

46. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς ἔξω τῆς μεγαλωνύμου πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης, ἐν τῷ θείῳ ναῷ τοῦ μυροβλήτου κυροῦ Νικολάου, ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θήκῃ τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ ἐν ἀοιδίμῳ τῇ μνήμῃ πανιερωτάτου 'Αθηνῶν τοῦ ὑπερτίμου, ὅτε εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἀνεκομίζετο.* incip : *ταχὺ μὲν ἡμῖν ἐπανήκεις, θειότατε ἀρχιερεῦ* (ibid. fol. 34v-57v).
47. De capta Thessalonica (*Eustazio di Tessalonica. La espugnazione di Tessalonica. Testo critico, introduzione, annotazioni di Stilpon Kyriakidis* [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e Monumenti : Testi 5], Palermo 1961).
48. 74 letters of which a number are actually by Michael Psellos (1) (ed. Tafel, *Op.* 308-361, repr. *M.P.G.* 136, 1245-1334).
49. A work on the youth of Alexios II, now lost (cf. P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike*, Diss Munich 1960, 17-18).

Career

Eustathios' date and place of birth are alike unknown. He was an exact contemporary of Euthymios Malakes (Euthymios Malakes, *Monody on Eustathios*, ed. Bonis p. 83. 10). But the date of Malakes' birth is uncertain. In 36. p. 26. 10 ff. Regel he says that he was still a *παῖς καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς ἴουλον ἀρτιφυῆ λασιούμενος* when he delivered his first address to Manuel I, *ἡνίκα θεὸς τὰ πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ταύτης ἐκάθισέ σε* (Manuel) *περιώπης.* The most obvious reference of this passage is to Manuel's accession

(1) This has been a constant trap for biographers of Eustathios. Although the true state of affairs was pointed out by Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 4, *Prol.* 30, 5, *οε'* and the warning repeated by Krumbacher, *G.B.L.*^{2} 541, Ph. Kukules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά* 6, actually has Eustathios dismissed from office by Patriarch Constantine III Leichudes, a man who died some seventy years before Eustathios was born, through careless use of *ep.* 63. On a prosopopoeia included among the letters cf. P. Wirth *Class. et Med.* 21 (1960) 215-217.

in 1143, which would make Eustathios' birth fall about 1125. This seems somewhat late, in view of the way he speaks of his old age in 1174 and 1179 (36. p. 26. 22 Regel, 40. p. 86, 25 Regel.) But Byzantine references to *γῆρας* are largely conventional, and one must not introduce modern ideas of when old age begins. Alternatively, the passage cited could conceivably refer to Manuel's promotion to the dignity of Sebastocrator c. 1123-1128, which would put Eustathios' birth fifteen to twenty years earlier. The question must remain open (1). The frequently expressed belief that Eustathios was a native of Constantinople rests on a misinterpretation of a passage, on which cf. Kukules, *op. cit.* 3-5. His baptismal name is unknown ; Eustathios is his monastic name.

He was educated at Constantinople (Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ 'Ακομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* 1.286 ; Euthymius Malakes, *Monody* para. 3), in the monastery of St. Euphemia (ep. 30 *τοὺς καλούς μού ποτε συντρόφους, τοὺς τῆς εὐεργέτιδος μου ἁγίας Εὐφημίας κληρικούς*) and himself became a monk in the monastery of St. Florus (2).

He was later appointed *maistor ton rhetoron* in the Patriarchal School (Demetrios Chomatenos, ap. Leunclavius, *Jus graeco-romanum*, I (1596), 137 *τοῦ γὰρ σοφωτάτου ἐκείνου Εὐσταθίου τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον διακόνου ὄντος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων*, and many passages in Eustathios' own works). The date is uncertain. Basileios is attested as *maistor ton rhetoron* at the Synod of 6 Mar 1166 (Mai, *S.V. N.C.*, 4, 58). If he is to be identified with Basileios Pediadites (q.v.), then there has been some mistake, as Pediadites was not at that time *maistor ton rhetoron*. But the identification is not a necessary one. None of Eustathios' ceremonial orations can be dated earlier than 1166. And it would be abnormal for a man to be appointed *maistor ton rhetoron* without some years' experience in a subordinate teaching

(1) For a recent discussion of the problem cf. P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen* 19-21.

(2) G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen* 140, ingeniously suggested that his family name was Kataphloros. This suggestion, which is often found stated as a fact in recent literature, is convincingly refuted by Kukules, *op. cit.* 5-6.

post. Furthermore Eustathios' philological works suggest the activity of a *grammatikos* — who interpreted poetic texts — rather than a *rhetor*. Euthymios Malakes in his monody (para. 5) says that Eustathios taught *γραμματικὴν καὶ μέτρα* to some, while to others he *τὴν γλῶτταν ἠκόνει ῥητορικῶς ἐξηγούμενος*. This suggests two successive stages in Eustathios' career, first as *grammatikos*, then as *maistor ton rhetoron*. Now Basileios, as we have seen, was in the latter office in 1166, and Basileios Pediadites was dismissed temporarily from the former on 24 Jan. 1168 (cf. second part of this paper). It is at any rate a reasonable working hypothesis that Eustathios was promoted from *grammatikos* to *maistor ton rhetoron* between these dates. He was probably not, as is so often stated, *ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων* (1).

(1) This statement is repeated by the most reputable authorities, e.g. KUKULES *op. cit.* 7, H. HUNGER, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike*, 1955, 9, ST. KYRIAKIDIS, *op. cit.*, XLV-XLVI, etc. There are three pieces of evidence. 1) The heading of ep. 17: *τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονότος ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων*. As long ago as 1910 Ed. KURTZ, *Viz. Vrem.* 17, 288 showed that this was a slip of scribe or editor for *τῷ αὐτῷ γεγονότι ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων*, and a glance at the opening lines of the letter shows that this must be so. But articles written in Russian, even by scholars of Kurtz' calibre, have not always received the attention they deserve, 2) Bessarion's note in *Ven. Marc.* 461, *Ἰστέον ὡς ἡ ἐξήγησις τῆς Ἰλιάδος Ὁμήρου αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑπομένων ἄλλων βιβλίων καὶ ἔτι ἡ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας, ἣν ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ ἔχομεν, ἐστίν, ὡς ἐν διαφόροις βιβλίοις ἀρχαίοις εὕρηται, Εὐσταθίου, μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, τοῦ ὕστερον Θεσσαλονίκης*. Bessarion's statement in itself carries little weight on such a matter, and it is not at all clear exactly what Bessarion found *ἐν διαφόροις βιβλίοις ἀρχαίοις*. 3) The title of the commentary on Dionysios Periegetes. In Paris 2723 and 2855, both of the thirteenth it reads: *Πρὸς τὸν πανσέβαστον Δοῦκα κυρὸν Ἰωάννην, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ καὶ μεγάλου δρουγγαρίου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Καματηροῦ, Εὐσταθίου, διακόνου, ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων καὶ μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων, τοῦ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης, ἐπιστολὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς Διονυσίου τοῦ περιηγητοῦ παρεκβολαῖς* (cf. G. BERNHARDY, *Geographi graeci minores* I (1828) 83). This is important evidence. Yet one's confidence in the reliability of the information in the title is shaken when one finds that other manuscripts add *τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων* after *Ἰωάννην*, which suggests that it originated in a marginal addition. There is no mention of the title *ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων* in the heading of any other work of Eustathios, nor does he refer to the office in any

In December 1174 he was appointed Metropolitan of Myra in Lycia, but before his inthronisation he was transferred, by direct imperial intervention (Demetrios Chomatenos, *loc. cit.*), to the vacant archbishopric of Thessalonika and took up his appointment early in 1175. His multifarious pastoral activities fall outside the scope of this paper. In 1185 he was made a prisoner when the city was sacked by the Normans. His leadership of his people in their tribulation was marked by exemplary courage. In 1191, as a result of opposition in Thessalonika, he was recalled to Constantinople by Patriarch George II Xiphilinos and does not seem to have returned until 1194 (cf. L. Petit, Les évêques de Thessalonique, *E.O.* 5 (1901-2) 30). The date of his death is unknown. He was regarded as a saint shortly after his death (cf. Sp. Lampros, *N.E.* 13 (1916) 361), and formally canonised by 1220. There is a portrait of him in fresco, dating from about 1320, in the church of the Virgin at Gračanica.

Of the works listed above 1-6, 34, 35, 40, 44, 45, and many of the letters belong to his activity as a teacher in the Patriarchal School. On the order of composition of his philological works cf. F. Kuhn, Quo ordine et quibus temporibus Eustathius commentarios suos composuerit, *Commentationes in honorem Guilelmi Studemund*, 1889, 249-257.

Literature

Recent bibliographies are to be found in:

Ph. Kukules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά* 1950, I. 40-46.

Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², 1958, I, 263-264.

P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike*, Diss. Munich, 1960, 5-8.

of his addresses to Manuel I. Had he held this office, which was one of some dignity, ranking in some of the lists of *officia* above any of the teachers in the Patriarchal School, it is hardly conceivable that his old friends Euthymios Malakes and Michael Choniates would have said nothing whatever about it in their funeral orations.

Eustathios II

Works.

None.

Career.

Eustathios calls himself *πρώξιμος σχολῆς παρθένου* in the subscription to Vat. gr. 358, written in the eleventh century. He was deputy head of the grammar school in the church of the *Θεοτόκος τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων*. He cannot be identified with the future Metropolitan of Thessalonica (Eustathios I). Whether he is identical with *Εὐστάθιος διάκονος καὶ διδάσκαλος* listed among the patriarchal staff in 1092 (Eustathios III) is very doubtful.

Eustathios III

Works.

None.

Career

Listed as *Eustathios diakonos kai didaskalos* among those present when Alexios I delivered a ruling in the matter of Leo of Chalcedon and his heretical doctrines in 1092 (1). As only fairly senior members of the Patriarchal staff are normally recorded on these occasions, Eustathios is likely to have been *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, or at any rate one of the three theological teachers, rather than a humble *grammatikos*. Whether he survived into the twelfth century or not is uncertain.

Michael Italicus.

Works.

1. 29 letters and short treatises (ed. J. A. Cramer. *Anecd. gr. Oxon.* III, 158-203).
2. Letter to Theodore Prodromos (ed. S. D. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom, istoriko-literaturnoe izsledovanie*, Odessa 1905, 321-324).

(1) *M.P.G.* 127, 973.

3. *Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πρόδρομον.* incip : *εἰ μὲν ἦμεν οὕτω συμφύντες ἀλλήλοις* (ed. R. Browning, *Byzantino-bulgarica* I, Sofia, 1962, 283-286.
4. *Πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν κυρὰν Εἰρήνην τὴν Δούκαιναν.* incip : *οὐχ ὡς ἁπλῶς ἀγανακτῶν σοι ταῦτα.γράφω.* (Barocci, 131, fol. 229v-230 v).
5. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ διδασκαλία, ἣν ἔπνευσεν ὅτε ἐσφραγίσθη διδάσκαλος τῶν εὐαγγελίων κατὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν πέμπτην τοῦ δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως.* incip : *νῦν καιρὸς εὐθυμίας, νῦν ἡμέρα πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολῆς* (Bonon. Bibl. Univ. 2412 fol. 77-82, Barocci 131 fol. 232v-233v).
6. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ λόγος βασιλικὸς εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰωάννην τὸν Κομνηνὸν καὶ πορφυρογέννητον ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀγῶσιν αὐτοῦ.* incip : ? (Bonon. Bibl. Univ. 2412 fol. 82-92, 61-62 ; cf. P. Lamma, *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Bologna*, Classe di Scienze Morali V. 4 (1952)).
7. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ λόγος βασιλικὸς εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνὸν καὶ πορφυρογέννητον.* incip : ? (Bonon Bibl. Univ. 2412 fol. 62v-73v ; cf. P. Lamma, *S. B. N.* 7 (1953) 397-408).
8. *τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ ἠθοποιία, ποίους ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ἅγιος Στέφανος ὁ πρωτομάρτυς παρὰ τοῦ νεωκόρου τοῖς Βενετίκοις* (sic) *πωλούμενος.* incip : *πρὸς ἄμφω μερίζομαι* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 342-342v).
9. *Τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ <τῆς> τοῦ Φιλίππου πρὸς τὸν σακελλάριον κατὰ Ἀρμενίων. Περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως.* incip : *ὡς ἔοικε, θεοφιλεστάτη ψυχή* (Sinait. 482 (1117) fol. 240v-241).
10. A number of orations and other works in Barocci 131 fol. 228v-234 may be by Italicus.

Career

Michael Italicus seems to have had a very unusual career. He was apparently appointed by John II *didaskalos ton iatron* before the death of the empress Eirene Dukas (4 text), which E. Kurtz *B.Z.* 16 (1907) 119-119 dated on 19 Feb. 1123. Several of the letters in 1 confirm his medical knowledge and interest. He later spent a long period as a

teacher of rhetoric, probably in the Patriarchal School (5 text. ἐπλέκομεν δ' ἄρα τοὺς ἀνάγρους ἐκείνους μίτους τῶν λόγων ... τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης λόγους (Bonon. 2412 fol. 78v). He was then transferred to the theological faculty of the Patriarchal School, and served successively as *didaskalos tou psalteros*, *didaskalos tou apostolou*, and *didaskalos tou euangeliou* (5 text μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας Δαυὶδ ἠχήσαμεν τὰς χορδὰς ἐκείνου πολλάκις μουσικώτατα περιψήλαντες (ibid. fol. 79v); εἰς πόνους εὐαγγελικοὺς ἐξ ἀποστολικῶν μεταπίπτοντες (ibid. fol. 79v); ἔπειτα διεδέξατο ἡμᾶς ἡ πυρίνη γλῶσσα τοῦ Παύλου καὶ συνεῖχε (ibid. fol. 80). His appointment as *didaskalos tou euangeliou* took place on Christmas day in a year not defined. But if a curious ligature in the title of 5 in the Oxford manuscript is correctly read as ἡμέρα ς̄ — and this is very uncertain — the possible years would be 1125, 1131, 1136, 1142. As he repeatedly describes himself in 5 as an old man, the last date is the most likely. Theodore Prodromos, *Περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τοῦ μικροῦ*, ed. P. Tannery, *Annuaire de l'Association* 21 (1887) III refers to Italicus' promotion to the office of *didaskalos tou euangeliou* when he says to him, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γνησιότητος ἀναξίαν τὴν παρὰ τῷ σῷ ἀποστόλῳ περπέρειαν φήθη· οἰκειούσθω γάρ σοι τὰ οἰκουμενικὰ καὶ πράγματα καὶ ὀνόματα διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου θ' ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀκριβαντος οἰκειότητα. Within a few years, and at any rate by 1146 he was appointed metropolitan of Philippopolis, where he negotiated successfully with the crusading armies (Nik. Chon. 83. 8 ff.). By 1166, when another Metropolitan of Philippopolis is attested, he was dead or retired.

4 was written before Feb. 1123. (The writer describes himself, according to the Oxford manuscript, as *Italos*, but for a variety of reasons the letter cannot be by John Italos). Most of the items in 1 date from Italicus' period as a teacher in Constantinople, as do 5 and 8. 6 is dated by Lamma to 1138 or later, and 7 to 1143. 3 and 9 belong to his period as Metropolitan of Philippopolis.

Italicus is an attractive and original character. He was on terms of some intimacy with many of the leading figures of the reign of John II, and was a close friend, and probably a teacher, of Theodore Prodromos.

Literature

Fundamental study is still M. Treu, Michael Italikos, *B.Z.* 4 (1895) 1-22. For subsequent literature cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I², 432.

Constantine Kaloethes

Works.

None attested.

Career.

Kaloethes is addressed as *didaskalos oikoumenikos* by Manuel Karantenos (q.v.). The title of Karantenos' letter calls him νῦν δὲ μητροπολίτην Μαδυτῶν. As there is nothing in the text of the letter to suggest that the addressee is a bishop, νῦν presumably refers to the time of compilation of the corpus of Karantenos' works, not to the time of writing of the letter. Karantenos was *maistor ton philosophon* contemporary with Patriarch John X Kamateros (1198-1206), and Kaloethes was presumably his colleague in the Patriarchal School, being promoted Metropolitan of Madyta in the Thracian Chersonese before 1204. Perhaps he succeeded Theophanes, attested in the see of Madyta in the patriarchate of George II Xiphilinos (1191-1198) (Cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* I, 1132c-1143a).

John Kamateros

Works.

Speech on Epiphany, probably 1186 (1) (ed. W. Regel *F.R.B.* 244-254).

Career.

Kamateros' speech is described in the title as ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Φώτων, and he himself is called ὁ σοφώτατος ῥήτωρ καὶ ὑπέρτιμος. He is therefore probably to be recognised as *maistor ton rhetoron* at the beginning of 1186.

(1) Cf. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* (1185-1195) 43.

But ὑπέρτιμος seems an impossible title for a teacher in the Patriarchal School at the end of the twelfth century (1). Does it refer to some dignity which he subsequently attained? V. Laurent (2) identifies him with the archbishop of Bulgaria attested from 1183, and author of two astronomical poems (3), which is inconsistent with our hypothesis. But this is far from certain. The Kamateroi were a numerous family, and their identification is often very difficult (4).

Manuel Karantenos

Works.

1. *Τοῦ διακόνου καὶ μαΐστορος τῶν φιλοσόφων κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Καραντηνοῦ πρὸς τὸν πρώην διδάσκαλον οἰκουμενικὸν κυρὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Καλοήθη, νῦν δὲ μητροπολίτην Μαδυτῶν, ἐπιστόλιον ἐνδιάσκευον κατὰ πρόβασιν λόγων τῶν συμπεσόντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ μυῶν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπαγρυπνοῦντι πρὸς λόγων ἀνάγνωσιν.* incip : *ἄκουσον τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ πρότριτα συμπεσόντα* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 224-225v).
2. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Καραντηνοῦ.* incip : *οὐκ ἔχει πάντως πανόμενος ὁ πονηρὸς Βελίαρ.* (ibid. fol. 225v-227v).
3. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μῦθος, ὃς καὶ ἐξήπλωται διηγηματικῶς.* incip : *ἦν ὅτε καὶ γῆρας κατέσχε καὶ λέοντα* (ibid. fol. 227v-229).
4. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολή.* incip : *οὔκουν, αὐθέντα μου, οὐ τῆς οἱασοῦν ἡμᾶς* (ibid. fol. 229-229v).

(1) Cf. K. M. Rhalles, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 13 (1938) 155-162.

(2) V. Laurent, *Sceau du protonotaire Basile Kamatéros, Byz.* 6 (1931) 266-267.

(3) Ed. E. Miller, *Notices et extraits* 23. ii (1872) 53-111 ; L. Weigl, Leipzig, 1908.

(4) Cf. in addition to V. Laurent, *op. cit.*, G. Stadtmüller, *Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros, B.Z.* 34 (1934) 352-358 ; V. S. Šandrovskaja, *Grigorij Kamatir i ego pečat' v sobranii Gosadarstvennogo Ermitaža, Viz Vrem.* Ser. II. 16 (1959) 173-182. This John Kamateros may be the future Patriarch John X, who seems to have been a teacher earlier in his career. Nikephoros Chrysoberges' address to the Patriarch (Nr. 6 above) says that he had been a *σοφιστής*, that he *προσελάλει μετὰ σαφηνείας τοῖς φοιτηταῖς* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 248v), and that some had enjoyed the honey of his words, *τοῦ ἱεράρχου παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφιστεύοντος* (fol. 249).

5. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἴνιγμα ... πρῶτον μὲν ... πρόξ, ὕστερον δὲ ῥόξ.* incip : *δειλὸν μέν εἰμι συντόνως ἀλλὰ τρέχον* (ibid. fol. 229v-230).
6. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ τμῆμα διδασκαλίας ἥτις ἐδιδάχθη ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην κυρὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Καματηρὸν πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελίστην Ἰωάννην τὸν θεολόγον τρέπεται.* incip : *ἀλλ' ἐπισυναπτέον τῷ χαριτοβρύτῃ τὸν χαριτώνυμον* (ibid. fol. 230-231).
7. *Τοῦ γραμματικοῦ κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Σαραντηνοῦ* (sic) *λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου, ὅτε οἱ τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταὶ ἀναγινώσκουσι.* incip : *διελεύσομαι καὶ αὐτὸς* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 221v-224v).

Career.

Karantenos is attested as *maistor ton philosophon* contemporary with Constantine Kaloethes (q.v.) and Patriarch John X Kamateros. This office seems distinct from that of *maistor ton rhetoron*, and was perhaps a supernumerary appointment. Philosophy fell within the province of a teacher of rhetoric in the Byzantine world. And the title *maistor ton rhetoron* is found right up to the Latin capture. In fact Karantenos' philosophy seems to have been very superficial, if we can judge his surviving works, in particular 1., which is largely a tissue of rhetorical common-places on the value of geometry and philosophy.

Of the works certainly attributable to Karantenos, 1, 3-6 belong to his activity as a teacher. 6 in particular will have been delivered at the celebration of the feast of St. John the Evangelist at the Hebdomon on 8 May (cf. *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, ed. Delehaye, 30). 2, which is of canonical content, and the writer of which refers ot himself as *ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν* (fol. 227v), must have been drafted by Karantenos for a patriarch, probably George II Xiphilinos or John X Kamateros.

Item 7 poses the question whether Manuel Karantenos, *maistor ton philosophon*, at the end of the twelfth century, and Manuel Sarantenos, *ὁ λεγόμενος φιλόσοφος* (Nicephorus Callistus, *M.P.G.* 147.466), Patriarch at Nicaea 1217-1222,

are one and the same person or not. Thee are three possibilities :

I) That Karantenos the *maistor ton philosophon* is distinct from Sarantenos the future Patriarch, and is the author of 1-7, the title of 7 being corrupt in the Escorial manuscript.

II) That Karantenos is author of 1-6, and Sarantenos, the future Patriarch, is author of 7.

III) That Karantenos and Sarantenos are one and the same person, the name being corrupt in the Vienna manuscript. Further study of the texts might enable a choice to be made. In the third case 2 could conceivably be a work dating from the author's patriarchate, but this is unlikely in view of the title.

John KASTAMONITES

Works,

1. *Τοῦ Κασταμονίτου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ γεγονότος μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος διδασκαλία ἣν ἐδίδαξεν ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.* incip : *Σήμερον ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γραμματεὺς* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 214-216).
2. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.* incip : *ἀδελφοὶ πάντα μοι ἔξεστι* (ibid. fol. 216-218v).
3. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὅτε κατῆλθεν ὁ πατριάρχης κυρὸς Βασίλειος ὁ Καματηρὸς οὗ ἦν γραμματικός.* incip : *Ζήνων ὁ Κιττιεὺς ἦν* (ibid. fol. 218v-221v).
4. *Τοῦ γεγονότος μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κασταμονίτου διδασκαλία ἐπὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.* incip. : *πάλιν ἐπὶ τόπου ἁγίου* (ibid. fol. 224v-227v).
5. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία ἐπὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.* incip. : *νόμος ἦν Ἑβραίοις* (ibid. fol. 227v-230v).
6. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* incip. : *ὡς λαμπρόν μοι τήμερον* (ibid. fol. 230v-233v).
7. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* incip. : *Βασιλεὺς γεννᾶται καὶ ὁ γενέθλιος* (ibid. fol. 233v-236v)
8. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* incip. : *ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ τὴν θείαν* (ibid. fol. 236v-239v).
9. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα διδασκαλία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* incip. : *πῶς ἄρα τὰ ὑμέτερα* (ibid. fol. 239v-243).

10. Canonical responses to Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria (ed. M. Gedeon, *Νέα βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων*, Constantinople 1903, 135-160 ; id., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 3 (1915) 169-188).
11. *Λόγος* on Gregory of Nazianzus (now lost ; cf. John Apokaukos, epigr. 8, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 15 (1903) 470).

Career.

Secretary of Patriarch Basil II Kamateros (1183-1186), perhaps before his elevation to the patriarchal throne (3 tit.). Successively *didaskalos tou apostolou* (1 tit., 2 tit.) and *didaskalos tou euangeliou* (3-9 tit.), holding latter office during patriarchate of Basil II Kamateros (3 tit.). Attested as metropolitan of Chalcedon 27 Nov. 1191 (Grumel, *Regestes* N° 1179), 8 Jan. 1192 (*ibid.* N° 1180), Feb. 1195 (*ibid.* N° 1184). A close adviser and supporter of Patriarch John X Kamateros (1198-1206) (Nic. Chon. *Orthodoxiae Thesaurus* ap. F. Uspensky, *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti*, 1891, 242). The commentary « in XXVIII evangelia anniversaria » in Paris gr. 214, anno 1316, fol. 1-235v, and the proem to an evangelical commentary in Paris gr. 234, anno 1318, both attributed to John of Chalcedon, and appearing in many later manuscripts, are of doubtful status. They are generally supposed to be the work of Patriarch John IX Agapetos, which they may well be. But the attribution depends exclusively on late manuscripts such as Athous Pantocr. 132, S. XVI, Athous Xeropot. 174, S. XVII, Athous Xeropot. 183, S. XVI, Patmiac. 567, S. XVI. So the possibility that their true author is John Kastamonites cannot be excluded. The *didaskaliai* in the Escorial manuscript are evidently a selection from a larger collection, made after Kastamonites became metropolitan of Chalcedon (1, 2, 3 tit.) The family is well represented in the 12th century : cf. Kastamonites, member of an embassy to Pope Alexander III (1), Theodoros Kastamonites, logothete of the drome, and uncle of Isaac Angelos (2), who died by Feb. 1192 (3), Niketas Kas-

(1) Cf. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, N° 1496.
(2) Michael Choniates *ep.* 44.
(3) MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca* III. 5.

tamonites, general under Alexios I, and later involved in a conspiracy to assassinate him (1), Michael Kastamonites, functionary in Hellas in the 11th century (2), the *protonobelissimoupertatos* Parathalassites Constantine Kastamonites in 1188 (3), John Kastamonites, *protokentarchos* c. 1230 (4).

(1) Anna Comnena I. 236. 13, 248. 27 ff., II. 158. 12 ff.
(2) A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, cited by E. Kurtz, *B.Z.* 2 (1893) 311.
(3) Miklosich-Müller, *op. cit.* VI 124.24.
(4) V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* n. 182, *Ἑλληνικά* 4 (1931) 340.

THE PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

(Continuation) (*)

John Mesarites

Works

Commentary on the Psalms, burned during the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204 (A. Heisenberg, *Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinem Bruder Johannes,* Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922, 5, 39).

Career

Son of a court official, born 1161/2, educated in Constantinople — probably at the Patriarchal School — appointed as a young man *didaskalos tou psalteros* by Andronikos Comnenus (1183-1185) (*ibid.* 33.15 ff.). Resigned before fall of Andronikos and entered a monastery at Phrygana (*ibid.* 34). Reappointed to the same office by Alexios III (1195-1203) (*ibid.* 39). Still in office at the time of the Latin capture in 1204 (*ibid.* 40). Withdrew to monastery of St. George of Mangana, and became a leader of anti-Latin resistance. Died 5 Feb. 1207. We have no other direct source of information than the epitaphios by his more famous brother. But as Constantine Stilbes (q.v.) was promoted from *didaskalos tou psalteros* to *didaskalos tou apostolou* by Patriarch John Kamateros (1198-1206), John Mesarites' second appointment — whether he was Stilbes' immediate successor or not — must have been in 1198 or later. He is probably related to Niketas

(*) Cf. *Byzantion* 32, pp. 167-202.

Mesarites (q.v.), and indeed this family connection probably explains his appointment to a senior teaching post at so early an age.

NIKETAS MESARITES

Works

None attested.

Career

Νικήτας διάκονος πατριαρχικὸς νοτάριος καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτηρίου appears as signatory of a synodal decision dated Friday 4 May, Indiction 5 (1). The only year between 887 and 1217 in which the 5th of May fell on a Friday in a fifth Indiction is 1172. Niketas is presumably related to John Mesarites (q.v.), who may well have succeeded him in office. At any rate, no other *didaskalos tou psalteriou* is attested between 1172 and 1183/5, when John Mesarites was appointed to this office at an early age.

MICHAEL *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*

Works

1. Description of St. Sophia (ed. C. Mango, T. Parker, *D.O.P* 14 (1960) 233-245).
2. Address to Manuel I, probably in 1150 (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 131-152).
3. Address to Manuel I, probably in 1153 (*ibid.* 152-165).
4. Address to Manuel I at Epiphany, probably in 1155 (*ibid.* 165-182).
5. *Προοίμιον ὅτε ἐγένετο οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος.* incip: *ἐκ διέσεως ἀρξαμένην τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ πραγματείαν.* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 317-319).
6. Confession of his former errors (ed. L. Allatius, *De perpetua consensione* 691).

(1) Cod. Sinait. 482 (1117) fol. 347, cited by V. BENEŠEVIČ, *Catalogus codicum MSS graecorum, qui in monasterio Sanctae Catherinae in Monte Sina asservantur* I, 289.

Career

Protégé, and probably nephew, of an archbishop of Thessalonica (1). Held two junior appointments in the Patriarchal School, one in the church of Chalkoprateia, the other in St. Peter's *τῶν Σφορακίου* (5 text, *ἵνα μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀρχαιολογήσω πόνους ... ὡς ξύλα γοῦν ἐκ τοῦ κατασκίου ὄρους τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς λίθους ἐκ τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου συλλεξάμενος τοῦ Χριστοῦ* fol. 318). Then successively *didaskalos tou psalteros, tou apostolou*, and *tou euangeliou* (5 text, *ἐκ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐνήργημαι τοῦ ἔργου ... συνὼν τῷ Παύλῳ τὸ τοῖς τοίχοις ἐοικὸς ἐξετέλεσα, λοιπὸν δὲ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὀροφὴν ἐπιτίθημι* fol. 318). His career up to his appointment as *didaskalos tou euangeliou* occupied ten years (5 text, *δεκάτῳ γοῦν ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεῦρον τὸν τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου σταθμόν* fol. 318). He was soon called upon to undertake the duties of *maistor ton rhetoron*, as well (1 tit., 2 tit., 3 tit., 4 tit., 6 tit.), and is no doubt the person for whom Georgios Tornikes I (q.v.) deputised. In 1156, while still holding both offices, he was arraigned before a synod, charged with supporting the heretical doctrine of the Eucharist put forward by Soterichos Panteugenes, and condemned along with his colleague Nikephoros Basilakes, *didaskalos tou apostolou* (Nik. Chon. 275.23, Kinnam. 176). As P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer* I. 256 suggests, there were probably political as well as theological considerations involved. It is not clear from the sources whether he was permanently deposed or reinstated after promising to mend his ways. Item 6, which appears in Allatius *loc. cit.* as *ἡ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξομολόγησις αὐτοῦ*, may well be, as suggested by V. Laurent, *D.T.C.* 10. 1720, the declaration of faith made by Michael at the Synod of 12 May 1151, *τελευτὴν* being a misreading of scribe or editor for *τελέτην*. Item 3 is stated in the title to have been delivered *ὅτε ἦν πρωτέκδικος*. Laurent, *loc. cit.*, following Vasilevskij, *Viz. Vrem.* 1 (1894) 60. n.2, supposes that he was at some stage *protekdikos* of Thessa-

(1) On this point cf. P. WIRTH *Michael von Thessalonike?* in *B.Z.* 55 (1962) 266-268, published after the present paper was sent to the press.

lonica. But in 6 tit. he is formally described as *μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, διδάσκαλος τῶν εὐαγγελίων, καὶ πρωτέκδικος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. The office of *protekdikos* is more elevated in the hierarchy than that of *oikoumenikos didaskalos* ; and Niketas Choniates and Kinnamos say nothing of his being *protekdikos* when they recount his deposition in 1156. So it is most probable that he held this office after being restored to favour in 1157. If this is so, Regel's dating of 3. in 1153 will have to be revised. There is no evidence for the date of his death or retirement.

MUZALON

Works

Λόγος τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ῥήτορος ὄντος πρὸς πατριάρχην κυρὸν Νικόλαον. incip : *Καὶ Σαοὺλ ἐν προφήταις* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 285v-294v).

Career

Muzalon is *maistor ton rhetoron* during the Patriarchate of a certain Nikolaos. This may refer to either Nikolaos III Grammatikos (1084-1111) or Nikolaos IV Muzalon (1147-1151). The latter is the more likely, as the Escorial manuscript comprises almost exclusively works dating from the middle and later twelfth century. If so, the *maistor ton rhetoron* may well have been a kinsman of the patriarch and owed his promotion to this fact. He can perhaps be identified with Nikolaos Muzalon, bishop of Amyklai, attested in the patriarchates of Luke Chrysoberges (1157-1169/70) and Michael III Anchialos (1170-1178), and apparently forcibly ejected from his see (V. Grumel, *Régestes* No. 1096, 1137). But the name is a common one from the eleventh century to the fourteenth (1).

STEPHANOS *ὁ Νερητηνός* (?)

Works

Letter to a certain Nikolaos (Laur. Conv. soppr. 2 fol. 200-210v).

(1) On the family cf. Chr. LOPAREV, *Viz. Vrem.* 1 (1894) 160.

Career

According to Rostagno-Festa, *Stud. Ital.* 2 (1894) 132, one of a number of letters to Nikolaos on fol. 200-210v of this manuscript, written in the fourteenth century, has the marginal note *τοῦ νυνὶ μαΐστρου κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Νερητηνοῦ*. As the authors of the other letters of the collection include several late twelfth century figures, such as *ὁ Εὐγενείου κυρὸς Νικήτας, ὁ Περιβλεπτηνός* (*Παραβλεπτηνός* in the manuscript), *ὁ καυθεὶς κυρὸς Γεώργιος ὁ τῶν Μύρων* (both of whom also occur as authors of pieces in Ven. Marc. 11.31, cf. under Basileios Pediadites), Stephanos no doubt belongs to the same period. Whether he was a teacher in the Patriarchal School or elsewhere cannot at present be determined. The collection of letters merits examination.

NIKETAS *ὁ τοῦ Σερρῶν*

Works

1. Mnemonic poem on epithets of gods (ed. W. Studemund *Anecdota varia graeca et latina* I, 270-283).
2. Mnemonic poems on geography and mineralogy (ed. L. Cohn, *Jahrbücher f. cl. Philologie* 1886 649-666).
3. Mnemonic poems on orthography (ed. in part L. Cohn, *loc. cit.* 661, manuscripts listed by Studemund 271 ff., Cohn 654 ff., P. Egenolff, *Die orthographischen Stücke der byzantinischen Literatur* 28).
4. Iambic verses *De grammatica* (ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* III 323-327).
5. Grammatical poem in 100 iambic verses (title varies). incip : *πέδον τιθηνὸν ἀκριβοῦ, πεφιλμένε.* (Dresd. Da 37 fol. 466v, Laur. 57. 26 fol. 82v).
6. (?) *Στίχοι ρʹ περὶ ἀντιστοίχων.* incip : ? (Laur. 57.26 fol. 84).
7. Scholia on orations 1, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 24, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45 of Gregory of Nazianzus (in part published, details in F. Lefherz, *Studien zu Gregor von Nazianz* 139 ; manuscripts listed by J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* 12-16).
8. Catena on Job (ed. P. Young, London, 1637, repr. Venice 1792).

9. Catena on Psalms (Prologue ed. *M.P.G.* 69.699-714, 93. 13-470, manuscripts listed by Sickenberger, *op. cit.* 20-21).
10. (?) Catena on four Major Prophets (manuscripts listed by Sickenberger *op. cit.* 21).
11. Catena on St. Matthew (ed. B. Corderius, Toulouse, 1647).
12. Catena on St. Mark (1) (manuscripts not listed by Sickenberger).
13. Catena on St. Luke (ed. in part B. Corderius, Antwerp 1628; A. Mai, *S.V.N.C.* 9. 626-724; manuscripts listed by Sickenberger *op. cit.* 31-60).
14. Catena on St. John (ed. in part *M.P.G.* 64.9-104; manuscripts listed by Sickenberger, *op. cit.* 21).
15. Catena on Pauline Epistles (ed. in part J. A. Cramer, 1844).
16. Letter to Niketas Stethatos (ed. Sickenberger *op. cit.* 9-10).
17. Speech against Eustratios of Nicaea of 27 April 1117 (ed. P. Joannou, *Byz.* 28 (1958, publ. 1959) 1-130).
18. Canonical responses to Constantine Bishop of Pamphylos (ed. A. Pavlov, *Viz. Vrem.* 2 (1895) 160-176).

Career

Niketas was nephew of Stephanos, Bishop of Serrae (poem in Paris 2408 fol. 203v, Barocci 68 fol. 94), whence his title *ho tou Serrōn*. He became *proximos* of the School in Chalkoprateia (Barocci 68 fol. 94), and later *didaskalos tou euangeliou* (Theophylact. Achrid. *M.P.G.* 126. 373 ff., 509). Presumably he held some intervening appointments at the Patriarchal School. His career is difficult to date; J. Darrouzès, *R.E.B.* 18 (1960) 183 suggests plausibly that he was *proximos* after 1071 and the letters of Theophylact addressed to him as *didaskalos tou euangeliou* must have been written after c. 1090, but these dates may be much too early. The letter of Niketas Stethatos to which 16 is the reply is addressed to *Νικήτᾳ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ διακόνῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ διδασκάλῳ.* But as the date of Stethatos' death is unknown — and in any case, as Darrouzès *loc. cit.* points out, this may be a different Niketas — this letter does not provide us with a *terminus ante quem*.

(1) This text has not been certainly identified. An anonymous catena published by Poussines, Rome, 1673, may be the work of Niketas.

In Laur. conv. soppr. 121 fol. 3, Laur. 60.11 fol. 39, Paris gr. 574 fol. 1. Niketas is described as Skeuophylax of St. Sophia. Sickenberger, *op. cit.* 16, supposes this office to have preceded his teaching career, but in view of the exalted rank of the skeuophylax it is more likely to have been a subsequent appointment. He later became Metropolitan of Herakleia in Thrace before April 1117 (17). The date of his death is unknown.

The grammatical works (1-6) probably belong to his early days as a teacher, the catenae (8-15) to his theological teaching. The titles which he is given in the manuscripts of these works are uninformative, and mostly date from after his elevation to the episcopate. The scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus were translated into Georgian by Epʿrem Mcire, who died about the end of the 11th century (M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, 193). They are therefore early works. In general, exegesis of these orations is in the Byzantine world the work of rhetoricians rather than theologians.

Niketas is a conscientious compiler and an ingenious versifier, rather than an original mind. But he was lucky enough to have access to a wide variety of sources now lost, no doubt in the Patriarchal Library and other libraries of Constantinople.

Literature

V. Grumel, *D.T.C.* XI. 472-473.
J. Sickenberger, *op. cit.*
J. Sajdak, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni I*, 120-176 (full bibliography of manuscripts and published texts).
J. Darrouzès, *R.E.B.* 18 (1960) 179-184.

NIKOLAOS

Works

None.

Career

Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων Νικόλαος is recorded among those present at the Synod of Constantinople in 1166 (A. Mai, *S.V.N.C.* 4, 58). He cannot be identified with *Νικόλαος ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον* (q.v.), who died some years earlier.

Ν ι κ ό λ α ο ς ὁ κ α τ ὰ Φ λ ῶ ρ ο ν.

Works

τοῦ κατὰ Φλῶρον κυροῦ Νικολάου. incip : *ἦσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὰ* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 324-327).

Career

The funeral oration on Nikolaos by his pupil Gregorios Antiochos (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 264v-271, incip : *ὡς ἄρα μοι τὸ τῆς λογικῆς ἀλάβαστρον νάρδου*) summarises Nikolaos' career. He held successively the posts of *didaskalos tou apostolou* and *didaskalos tou euangeliou*, finally combining the latter appointment with that of *maistor ton rhetoron* (1). His death, says his panegyrist, occurred about the same time as that of the empress Eirene (Bertha of Sulzbach) (2), who died about the end of 1159 (3). The speech must therefore belong to the end of that year or the beginning of 1160. Nikolaos was apparently quite a young man at the time of his unexpect-

(1) Cf. fol. 268 *πῶς ἐν τρισὶν ὡραΐσθης, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ Σεράχ, καὶ ἀνέστης ὡραῖος ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων· πρώτῳ μὲν τῷ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τοῦ Παύλου διδασκαλίας ἐμπεπιστεῦσθαι τὸ τάλαντον, δευτέρῳ δὲ τῷ καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων οἰκουμενικόν σε κεχειροτονῆσθαι διδάσκαλον, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ λοισθίῳ τῷ καὶ ῥητόρων ἀνηγορεῦσθαι καθηγητήν.* Nikolaos held the two last appointments simultaneously, and was *διδάσκαλος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* at the time of his death : cf. fol. 267v. *μῆτερ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν θεᾶ σοφία, νέα Σιών, πῶς πρὸ μικροῦ τῶν στέρνων τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ πανιέρου σοι σώματος δοιοὺς προϊσχομένη μαστούς, τὸν εὐαγγελικόν τε λέγω καὶ ἀποστολικόν, ἄρτι τὸν δέξιον ἀφῃρέθης τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιτθόν.*

(2) Cf. fol. 265v. *τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν μὴ τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς διδοῦσαν σελήνην, τὴν ἡμῶν βασιλίδα, τὴν Εἰρήνην... σελήνην ἐκείνην ἣ μείωσιν πεπόνθει, ἀφ' ἧς οὐκέτι ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν τῶν φώτων προσθήκαις αὖθις ἐπανέλθοι.* Gregorios goes on to explain at length why he has chosen to deliver an epitaphios on his teacher rather than upon the empress.

(3) Cf. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* II, 359.

ed death (1). It is interesting to find the posts of *didaskalos tou euangeliou* and *maistor ton rhetoron* held by the same man in 1159, as they were in 1156 by Michael Thessalonicensis (q.v.). Nikolaos must have become *didaskalos tou apostolou* in 1156, in succession to Nikephoros Basilakes, and his whole career as a teacher falls within the years 1156-1159/60 (2).

Gregorios Pardos (3)

Works

1. De dialectis (ed. H. Schaefer, 1811).
2. *Περὶ συντάξεως τοῦ λόγου ἤτοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ σολοικίζειν* (Vat. gr. 1751, Paris gr. 2669 etc.), edited in part by Kominis 127-129.
3. *Περὶ τρόπων* (ed. Chr. Walz. *Rh. Gr.* 8. 763-778).
4. Commentary on Hermogenes' *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* (ed. Chr. Walz. *Rh. Gr.* 7. 1090-1352).
5. Exegesis of 23 liturgical canons of Kosmas of Maiuma, John Damascene and Theophanes (?). (For information on manuscripts cf. Kominis *op. cit.*).
6. Possibly other minor grammatical works (cf. Kominis *op. cit.*).

Career

Gregorios is nowhere stated expressly to have been a teacher in the Patriarchal School, so far as I know. But 1. to 4. are evidently the work of a professional teacher of rhetoric. And in the twelfth century a teacher of rhetoric who becomes a bishop is almost certainly a member of the Patriarchal

(1) Cf. fol. 271v. *ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ὦ θεῖον κάρα διδασκάλου, πρὸ ὥρας ἀποτμηθεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς τῷ χαριεστάτῳ, ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ ἔαρι, μήπω τὸ θέρος φθάσαι τοῦ γήρως συγχωρηθείς.*

(2) Since this note was written I have seen P. Wirth, Zu Nikolaos Kataphloros, *Class. et Med.* 21 (1960) 212-214. We agree on most points. Wirth, however, does not observe that Nikolaos was simultaneously teacher of theology and rhetoric.

(3) Kominis firmly fixes the elusive Archbishop of Corinth in the twelfth century. P. Maas (*B.N.J.* 2 (1921) 53-55) wished to date him a century earlier. I already protested against this in *C.R.* 74 (1960) 193 n. 2.

School. In 2. Gregorios mentions Theodoros Prodromos, and in 4. he repeatedly cites and alludes to John Tzetzes. On the other hand, a manuscript of 6. (Vat. gr. 1126) is dated 1125. Provisionally his floruit can be put c. 1120-1150. 5. seems, on stylistic grounds as well as because of the dated manuscript, to be an early work (Kominis *op. cit.*). 1. and 4. are the works of a mature scholar, with a vast stock of information at call, including much that is unknown from other sources. 3. is of doubtful authenticity. Whether he was *maistor ton rhetoron* or held a subordinate appointment, and when and for how long he was Metropolitan of Corinth, we cannot ascertain with precision. The confusion regarding his name — several works are attributed both to Gregorios and to Georgios Pardos — is no doubt due to his changing his baptismal name on becoming a monk and bishop. But which is the baptismal and which the monastic name remains uncertain.

Literature

L. Allatius, *De Georgiis* 416-420.

P. Maas, *B.N.J.* 2 (1921) 53-55.

Th. Gerber, *Quae in commentariis a Gregorio Corinthio in Hermogenem scriptis vetustiorum commentariorum vestigia deprehendi possint*, Diss. Kiel 189.

A. Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos Metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera* [Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici II], Roma-Atene 1960.

BASILEIOS PEDIADITES

Works

1. *Τοῦ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυροῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ Πεδιαδίτου λόγος εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην.* Incip : *Οὔτε μακροὺς ἥκω λόγους* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 274-277).
2. *Τοῦ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυροῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ Πεδιαδίτου λόγος εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Νικήταν τὸν Μουντανοῦ* (sic). Incip : *Φθάνετε πάντως ἐνωτισάμενοι* (*ibid.* fol. 372v-377).

3. Letter to Constantine Stilbes from Corcyra (ed. Sp. Lampros, *Κερκυραϊκὰ ἀνέκδοτα*, 1882, 48).
4. Letter to Pope Innocent III (ed. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἐθνολογικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον*, 1870, 187).
5. A number of short pedagogical pieces (*σχέδη*) (Ven. Marc. 11.31 fol. 275-300) (1).
6. Heretical or blasphemous poems, now lost (see below).

Career

Pediadites is probably not to be identified with Basileios *maistor ton rhetoron* in 1166. He is described as *ὁ Ἁγιοπάντων κυρὸς Βασίλειος*, as *ὁ μαΐστωρ τῆς σχολῆς τῶν γραμματικῶν τοῦ Παύλου* and as *κυρὸς Βασίλειος... ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποκαταστὰς καὶ γεγονὼς Κερκύρας* in an interesting canonical document preserved in Sinait. gr. 1117 fol. 299-299v, which recounts how he was dismissed from his post and deprived of his diaconate on 24 Jan. 1168 for writing *στίχοι κατὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἱεροῦ δόγματος... ἀσεβείας ὄντες μεστοί*, the authorship of which he first denied, then admitted. One can only speculate on the nature of these *stichoi*, which may have been the product of youthful frivolity rather than heresy. He was restored to office, as the rubric to the protocol of the proceedings states, but we do not know when. At any rate it was before the patriarchate of Chariton (1178-79). He was still in office as a teacher, probably by this time as *maistor ton rhetoron*, in the patriarchate of Niketas II Muntanes (1186-1189) (2). By 1202 at the latest he was Metropolitan of Corcyra ; in 3., written to Stilbes when the latter was still a teacher

(1) The attribution of many of these pieces, which all begin in prose and end with a few lines of iambic verse, is difficult, as the titles of many of them have not been completed by the scribe (or so it seems from the photographs kindly supplied to me by the authorities of the Biblioteca Marciana). Items expressly attributed to Pediadites occur on fol. 280v-281, 282v, 285v-286, 288v-289, 291-292, 298v-299. They include an encomium on Patriarch Chariton (1178-1179) on fol. 291-291v. I suspect that there may be material of a similar kind by Pediadites in Laur. Conv. Soppr. 2 fol. 200-201v., to judge from the information furnished by ROSTAGNO-FESTA, *Stud. Ital.* 2 (1894) 131-132.

at Constantinople, i.e. before 1204, he says that he has already been two years in his diocese, which he finds a most barbarous place. He died at Corcyra shortly before Sept. 1219 (Letter of Theodore Comnenus Dukas to John Apokaukos, ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 249-250). On his activity in his diocese cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, 77.

JOANNES PHRANGOPULOS

Works

Λόγος τοῦ γραμματικοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φραγγοπούλου ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ μαΐστορος αὐτοῦ λόγον. incip : *ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρα, ὦ φαεσίμβροτε φωσφόρε* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 81v-84).

Career

Phrangopulos must have been a subordinate teacher to the *maistor ton rhetoron*, responsible for the teaching of *grammatike*, and perhaps teaching in one of the « out-stations » of the Patriarchal School. His date cannot be determined without examination of the text of his speech — and perhaps not even then, Byzantine rhetoric being what it is. But in view of the composition of the Escorial manuscript, he can plausibly be dated in the twelfth century. For the family cf. the *πρωτονωβελισσιμοϋπέρτατος* Nikolaos Phrangopulos at the end of the thirteenth century (V. Laurent, *Bulles métriques* n. 562, *Ἑλληνικά* (1933) 229 ff.) ; George Phrangopulos, Dux of Thessalonika in early thirteenth century (Chomatenos, ed. Pitra 447).

THEODORE PRODROMOS

This is no place to go into the vexed question of the life and works of Theodore Prodromos, for which an exhaustive study of the manuscript tradition is a prerequisite. That Prodromos was a teacher of some kind has been generally recognised. Papadimitriou was the first to draw attention to a passage in an unpublished letter of Michael Italicus to Prodromos in which Prodromos is said to be *τὸν παραθαλάττιον τῶν ἀποστόλων νεὼν κατοικηκώς* (1). This is no doubt the church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Orphanotropheion. And we have seen that the school in this church was a part of the Patriarchal School. Exactly what appointment Prodromos held cannot at present be determined. The date of the letter is between 1143 and 1147. Cod. Paris. gr. 2556, fol. 82-86, contains examples of schedography attributed to Theodore Prodromos, which suggests that he may have been *maistor ton rhetoron*.

CONSTANTINE PSALTOPULOS

Works

1. *Τοῦ διδασκάλου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ψαλτοπούλου προσφωνητικὸς πρὸς τὸν λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου κυρὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν Ἁγιοθεοδωρίτην.* incip : *ἦν ὅτε καὶ ὁ μετὰ Μωσῆν* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 128-129).
2. *Διδασκαλία πρώτη.* incip : *πόλις ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν ἐπισήμων* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 129-132).

Career

Teacher contemporary with Michael Hagiotheodorites, logothete of the drome and orphanotrophos, a prominent figure in the middle years of the reign of Manuel I (2), attested in the office of logothete in 1166 and 1170 (3). Psaltopulos may be identified with *ho rhetor Konstantinos*, signatory of the synodal decree of 30 Jan. 1170 (4), in which case he will have been *maistor ton rhetoron*. But his surviving works suggest that he was a theologian rather than a rhetorician. The title of 2. suggests that the compiler of Scorial. Y-I-10 has before him a collected edition of the works of Psaltopulos.

(1) Barocci 131 fol. 176, cited by S. D. PAPADIMITRIOU, *Feodor Prodrom*, Odessa, 1905, 204, n. 175. I have edited this correspondence between Michael Italicus and Prodromos in *Byzantinobulgarica* I, Sofia 1962, 279-297.

(2) Cf. F. CHALANDON, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène*, 1912, 224-225.

(3) Cf. *M.P.G.* 140, 252 ; L. PETIT, *Viz. Vrem.* 11 (1914) 479 ff.

(4) Cf. L. PETIT, *op. cit.* 480.

Schizenos

Works

Oration on birth of Alexios II (ed. W. Regel, *F.R.B.* 362-369).

Career

Schizenos is described as *oikoumenikos didaskalos* in the title of his oration. The birth of Alexios II is dated 1167 by Regel (*op. cit.* xiii), 1169 by Chalandon (*Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* 292). These dates are based respectively on William of Tyre 22.4 and Albericus Monachus, *M.G.H. SS.* 23.848, and on Codinus, *De ann. et imp. serie* p. 159 ed. Bonn. We know from Niketas Choniates (1) that Alexios II was just over twelve years old when his father died on 24 Sept. 1180. The present speech was delivered *ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν προσκύνησιν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ γεννήσει τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου κτλ.* (tit.), and in the text the festival of the Birth of the Virgin and the Elevation of the Cross are mentioned as occurring about the same time as the birth of the young prince (p. 367 18 ff.), an event which, says the speaker, turns autumn into spring (p. 368 4 ff.). The Constantinople Synaxary (ed. Delehaye) gives the *genesion tes Theotokou* on 8 sept., the *hypsesis tou timiou xylou* on 14 Sept., and the *proskynesis tou hagiou staurou* on 10-13 Sept. This suggests that the future Alexios II was born during the second week of September 1168 (2). We have, so far as I know, no other evidence for the career or literary activity of Schizenos.

(1) Cf. *Thesaurus Orthodoxiae* 6227, quoted from Oxon. Roe 22 fol. 416, by F. Uspenskij, *Očerki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti*, 236 : *Ἀλεξίου δὲ τοῦ ἐξ ὀσφύος ἐκείνῳ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου μειρακίσκου παναπάλου καὶ λειοπώγωνος καὶ μήπω τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐξηνυκότος.*

(2) P. Wirth, *Wann wurde Alexios II Komnenos geboren?*, *B.Z.* 49 (1956) 65-67, using many of the arguments here given, but apparently not acquainted with Niketas Choniates' testimony, reaches a different conclusion, viz. that Alexios was born about 14 Sept. 1169. The matter is probably hardly worth the ink which has been consumed in argument about it.

Niketas Seidos (or Seides)

Works

Complete list, with full references to manuscripts, in O. Schissel, Niketas Seidos, eine Handschriftenstudie, *Divus Thomas* 15 (1937) 78-90.

Career

A native of Iconium (Schissel, *op. cit.* 78) Niketas took part in the discussions with Petrus Chrysolanus in 1112. Surviving speeches of his are dated 1112/13 and 1114 (*ibid.* 80. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* 617-618). In Hierosol. Metoch 404 fol. 106 he is described as *rhetor*, and was possibly *maistor ton rhetoron* in the second decade of the twelfth century. He may later have held one of the theological teaching posts, as his surviving works include commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and a *Synopsis tes theopneustou graphes*. As three of his surviving speeches — of polemical anti-Latin content — bear the numbers 21-23, there was presumably at one time a collected edition of his *logoi*.

Stephanos Skylitzes

Works

None.

Career

Our only sources of information on Skylitzes are the monody on him by Theodoros Prodromos. (ed. L. Petit, *Izvestija Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 8 (1903) 1-14) and a letter of Prodromos to Skylitzes (*M.P.G.* 133. 1253-1258). From these it emerges that on completion of his secondary education he was appointed, though there were many older candidates, to the *διδασκαλικὸς θρόνος τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Παύλου διατριβῆς*, in the capacity of *hyphedros*, his own brother being *proedros*. In a few years he became *proedros* himself. At the age of 30 he was appointed Metropolitan of Trebizond. Petit (*op. cit.* 4) calculated the date of this appointment as shortly after 1126. Because of the

revolt of Constantine Gabras, he could not proceed to Trebizond until 1140. Shortly afterwards he returned to Constantinople and died. His teaching was concerned with *techne grammatike, to ton schedon philotechnema,* and *logoi,* i.e. grammar and rhetoric. He was probably Prodomos' own teacher. I take the terms *proedros* and *hyphedros* in the monody to be literary Greek for some such titles as *grammatikos* and *proximos*, and am inclined to place Stephanos as *maistor tes scholes ton grammatikon tou Paulou* (cf. *Byz.* 32, p. 176) or perhaps even *maistor ton rhetoron* for a few years before 1126, preceded in that office by his brother.

CONSTANTINE STILBES

Works

1. *Διδασκαλία τοῦ μακαρίτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κυρίλλου τοῦ χρηματίσαντος Κυζίκου, ὅτε διάκονος ὢν διδάσκων ἦν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν χαλκίτην, περὶ τῶν ... τοῦ μανδύλου καὶ τοῦ κεράμου.* incip : *τί τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο φορεῖον; τί τὸ ἔνδον φερόμενον;* (Cod. Barocci 25, fol. 273-275).
2. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤτοι τοῦ Στιλβῆ διδασκαλία τῶν θείων ἐπιστολῶν, ἐκφωνηθεῖσα πρῶτον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διδασκαλείῳ· περιηγεῖται δὲ ὁ λόγος τὰ διδασκαλεῖα ὅσα διῆλθεν ὁ γράφων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς χρόνους καὶ πόνους, καὶ ὥς τι σεμνὸν καὶ ἄντικρυς καὶ πλαγίως παρενείρει τὸ περιοδεῦσαι αὐτὸν τὰ φθάσαντα διδασκαλεῖα κατὰ συνέχειαν καὶ ἀνυπερβάτως μέχρι τοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ τηνικαῦτα οἰκουμενικός, ἐκ περικοπῆς ἀναχθεὶς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ χαίρει μὲν τὴν πρόβασιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καμάτοις ἀλγεῖ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῖς μέλλουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι ἀγεράστῳ τε καὶ ἀμίσθῳ, καταλύει δὲ εἰς ἠθικὴν περὶ ὑπομονῆς διάλεξιν. ἡ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου ἰδέα πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν φεύγει τὸ τραχὺ τῆς φράσεως καὶ ὀχθῶδες, τὸ πανηγυρικώτερον εὐκαίρως μεταδιώκουσα.* incip : *ἐπαινῶ τὸν νόμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας* (ibid. fol. 275-278v).
3. *Τοῦ μακαρίτου μοναχοῦ Κυρίλλου τοῦ ποτε Κυζίκου, ἔτι ὄντος διακόνου, νέῳ τινὶ ῥητορικὸς εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Γεώργιον τὸν Ξιφιλῖνον κατὰ τὸ Σάββατον τοῦ λ....* incip : *οἶδε καὶ Δαυὶδ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Σαββάτου* (*ibid.* fol. 295-296v).
4. *Τοῦ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Στιλβῆ διδασκαλία ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸ γηροκομεῖον* (sic) *ἁγίῳ Παύλῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Γεώργιον ἐγκωμιάζει ἤδη δὶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διεξιών.* incip : *πάλιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεόπτης* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 277-283v).

5. *Διδασκαλία τρίτη τοῦ σοφωτάτου διδασκάλου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Στιλβῆ διδάσκοντος ἔτι ἐν τῷ περιωνύμῳ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων ἀποστόλων τῷ ἐν τῷ ὀρφανοτροφείῳ ἔστι δὲ τῶν πάνυ ἐξαιρέτων.* incip : *Πάλιν οἱ ἐμοὶ χριστοκήρυκες καὶ πάλιν πανήγυρις* (Vat. gr. 305, fol. 137v-138v).
6. *Τοῦ λογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Στιλβῆ ἐπιστολὴ τῷ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου κυρῷ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Αὐλικαλάμῳ.* incip : *ἰδοὺ καὶ δεύτερον γράμμα πρὸς τὸ σὸν ὕψος* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 274-274v).
7. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.* incip : *ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις λύπαις καρποῦσθαι* (*ibid.* fol. 274v.)
8. *Τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου μαΐστορος καὶ διδασκάλου τοῦ Στιλβῆ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει θεηλάτῳ μεγάλῳ ἐμπρησμῷ μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ κε' ἔτους ‚ςψε'.* incip : *δεῦτε τρόφιμοι δεῦτε τῆς Βυζαντίδος* (Marc. gr. 524 fol. 10v-18, Vat. Barb. 240, fol. 71-75v) (1).
9. *Τοῦ Στιλβῆ στιχοὶ μονωδικοὶ ἐπί τινι εὐφυεῖ νέῳ τελευτήσαντι, κατ' ἐρώτησιν.* incip : *ἔδυς, φαεινὸν ὄμμα τῶν νέων, ἔδυς* (Vat. Pal. gr. 356 fol. 143 etc.) (2).

(1) The relation of the two texts of this poem is a curious one. Both have the same text from v. 265 to 875 (the end). The Barberini manuscript, whose text is acephalous, has in place of vv. 1-264 of the Venice manuscript 204 lines not in the Venice manuscript at all, beginning *τὸν ... κάλαμον π... / ἂν τοὺς πυρὶ σπαίροντας ἄτης(?) πυρπνόου* (vv. 1A-204A). In addition, the Barberini manuscript is divided into sections, *τμῆμα τρίτον* beginning at v. 265 (the beginning of the common text.), and *τμῆμα τέταρτον* at v. 540. Presumably the whole of the first *τμῆμα* and the beginning of the second *τμῆμα* have been lost. There is no trace of this division in the Venice manuscript. Without further study of this text, it is impossible to say what underlies this state of affairs. But my first impression is that we are faced with two redactions of the poem. Cf. the brief discussion by Ada GONZATO, in *XII^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Ochride 1961, Résumés des communications,* 125.

(2) This poem occurs in a number of manuscripts, e.g. Ambros. gr. A. 115 Sup (Martini-Bassi 40) fol. 505v. ; Vat. gr. 672, fol. 290-290v. ; Tübingen M 610 (XX4) fol. 201-209, Vat. gr. 1363 fol. 364v ; Athous Ivir. 131 fol. 171v. Some versions, however, appear to

10. *Τοῦ Στιλβῆ ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν <τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου>* (1). incip : *οἰκουμενικὸς λύχνος ἐκρύβη μέγας* (Marc. gr. 436 fol. 3v).
11. *Τοῦ Κυζίκου τοῦ Στιλβῆ.* incip ; *ἡ τετάρτη ᾠδὴ ἡ τοῦ Ἀββακοὺμ* (Laur. gr. 7. 19, fol. 71-72).
12. *Τὰ αἴτια μετὰ τῆς Λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅσα περὶ δογμάτων καὶ γραφῶν καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν συγγραφὲν* (sic) *παρὰ Κυρίλλου τοῦ πρὶν Κυζίκου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Στιλβῆ.* incip : (acephalous) : *μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμεῖ* (Alexandr. 160 fol. 165v-170v (2).
13. *Κυρίλλου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Στιλβῆ τοῦ χρηματίσαντος Κυζίκου ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τῶν Χριστιάνων.* incip : ? (Athous Vatoped. 474, fol. 360v-362v).
14. *Τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Κυζίκου διάγνωσις τῶν γνησίων τε καὶ νόθων λόγων τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.* incip : ? (Athous Laur. 1328, fol. 6v-29) (3) (4).

be shorter than that of the Palatine manuscript. The poem is an epitaph for a pupil of Stilbes, by name Stephanos, who died far from home in a monastery in Patrae. A marginal note in Vat. Pal. 18, which also contains this poem, states that the family name of the youth was Hexapterygos.

(1) The end of the title is illegible in the manuscript, but this is the only reconstruction chronologically possible.

(2) Cf. G. Charitakis, *Κατάλογος τῶν χρονολογημένων κωδίκων τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Καίρου*, *Ε.Ε.Β.Σ.* 4 (1927) 152. Moschonas, in his more recent catalogue (*Κατάλογος τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, Τόμος Α. Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria, 1945) gives no further information. I have been unable to consult the incomplete catalogue published by Philippides in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 37-38 (1938-39).

(3) It is not clear from the catalogue on what grounds Spyridon and Sophronios Eustratiades attribute this text to Stilbes, as they do (*Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* 222), rather than to any other Metropolitan of Cyzicus.

(4) I have deliberately omitted certain works sometimes attributed to Stilbes. These are :

1) The speech which I edited from Barocci 25 fol. 279-280 in *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 31-50. Father J. Darrouzès (*R.E.B.* 18 (1960) 184-187) has kindly pointed out a most confusing misreading which appears in my edition. For this I am grateful. I cannot however follow him in attributing this text with any confidence to Stilbes. In a miscellaneous manuscript *tou autou* is a most dangerous guide to authorship. I still find it difficult, as I argued in *Byzantion loc. cit.*, to reconcile the account given in the text of the speech with the events of the last years of the twelfth century. Father Darrouzès himself mentions the involved and figurative style of one of Stilbes' speeches (*loc. cit.* 184), it is equally characteristic of his other speeches, but strikingly absent from the text which I edited. I never was, nor am I now, certain that my own dating was correct. But I still think it the most probable. However, the ultimate decision rests neither with Father Darrouzès nor with me. Incidentally, his proposed emendation of *νέῳ* in the title to *νεῷ* in which he was anticipated by O. Lampsides in the discussion which followed my paper at the Munich congress, is almost certainly wrong. The pupils of the *maistor ton rhetoron* displayed their prowess on certain occasions, notably Epiphany and the Feast of St Lazarus. The *maistor* and his colleagues took care to provide them with speeches to deliver. The evidence for this is to be found in a number of titles, e.g. Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 103 (*λόγος ἐκδοθεὶς τινι τῶν ῥητορευόντων*), and in the Preface to a collection of his own works by Nikephoros Basilakes (qv.), where he says of one of his orations — a *βασιλικὸς λόγος* as it happens — *νεοτελὴς γάρ τις τὰ σοφιστικὰ καὶ ὑποψελλίζων ἔτι τοῦτον τῆς ἐμῆς γλώττης ἐδρέψατο*, and of another oration *νέῳ μέν τινι καὶ ὑπὸ διδασκάλους ἔτι τελοῦντι καὶ τοῦτον ἐχρήσαμεν.*

2) The poems following upon the poem on the fire in Marc. 524. There is no evidence that these are by Stilbes, and Sp. Lampros, in publishing excerpts from them (*N.E.* 8 (1911) 1-59), did not suggest that they were. Nevertheless it has often been assumed that they must be his work. In particular C. Loparev, *O vizantijskom gumaniste Konstantine Stil'vi (XII V.) i o ego sochinenijakh*, *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie* 3 (1917) 57-88 constructs on this basis a biography of Stilbes which is totally at variance with the facts. Some of the poems in question certainly belong to a period a generation before the datable activities of Stilbes. E.g. item 50 was probably written before 1157, when the Protosebastos and Megas Dux John Comnenus is attested in the office of Protovestiarios (L. Petit, *Viz. Vrem.* 11 (1904) 479) ; similarly item 56, an encomium of the learned Sebastocratorissa Eirene, seems to belong to the period before her disgrace and exile about 1144 ; item 63, a dedication by John Dukas, son of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Comnena, seems to imply that Nikephoros is still alive ; and item 65, a dedication by Theodoros Styppeiotes, who calls himself *τὴν ἀξίαν δὲ νῦν κανικλείου φέρων*, must have been written before his disgrace and blinding about 1164 (though the title was obviously written later). These poems well merit publication and study, but to regard them as the work of Stilbes will merely confuse the issue.

Career

Stilbes began his teaching career with a twelve year tenure of an appointment in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, where

he seems to have given elementary theological instruction (2 text : *Φύτευσις ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἀρχικὴ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Παύλου τεμένει*, fol. 276, *ἡλίων ἑξάδα διπλῆν ἐξηριθμήσαμεν... τὰ εὐαγγελικὰ πρὸς δύναμιν κατηχήσαμεν, κτλ.* fol. 276). There followed two years in a church dedicated to Christ near St. Sophia (*ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήραμεν εἰς σταθμὸν τὸν τοῖς ἐντὸς τούτοις καὶ προβαθμίοις ἀγχίθυρον, ἐκ τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ... περιεκροτήσαμεν εἰς ὅλας διττὰς περιτροχάσεις ἡλιακάς, ποσότητα τῇ ἡμῶν προβάσεων ὁμόλογον, ibid.*), where he again seems to have taught theology (cf. the obscure and allusive list of themes on fol. 276). Then he was appointed *didaskalos tou psalteros*, and held the appointment for two years (*ἐφεξῆς ἔβλεψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεῖος Δαυὶδ ἀναβαίνοντας, καθὼς φησίν, μετ' αὐτοῦ ... καὶ πάλιν διττὴ χρονικὴ περιέλευσις, ibid.*). Then he was promoted *διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου* (*κλῆρος ἐμὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος* fol. 275v, *τὴν οὖν παρεστῶσαν πρόβασιν τοῦ προφήτου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον* fol. 277) by Patriarch John X Kamateros (*ἡ τῶν πατριαρχῶν θεοειδὴς κορυφή, ὁ χαριτώνυμος καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων ταμιεῖον τοῦ πνεύματος* fol. 276). Thus the date of his appointment as *didaskalos tou apostolou* must fall between 1198 and 1204. And since he must have been succeeded at this time as *didaskalos tou psalteros* by John Mesarites (q.v.) who seems to have held the post for some years before the Latin capture, we can safely date Stilbes' appointment — and with it 2 — 1198-1202. This would make his initial appointment to SS. Peter and Paul fall between 1182 and 1186.

In one passage of his inaugural lecture Stilbes speaks of three patriarchs as having furthered his career (*Παῦλος ἡμᾶς ἐφύτευσεν, Ἀπολλὼς ἤρδευσεν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ηὔξανε. Παῦλος μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἀρχιθύτης ὁ ἰσαπόστολος καὶ τὸν βίον ἄντικρυς εὐαγγελικός* (-*ον* cod.), *μονοχίτων καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ φορτηγός. Ἀπολλὼς δὲ ὁ μοσχεύσας ὁ τῆς ἱερᾶς φυτοκομίας ἢ γεωργίας ἐπώνυμος ἱεράρχης, καὶ τὸ πότισμα τῆς αὐξήσεως ἤγουν ἀρραβὼν ὁ βαθμὸς ὁ τῶν παραδείσῳ τούτῳ ἀγχιστεύων· θεὸς δὲ ὁ αὐξήσας εἴτε ὁ οὐρανόθεν ἐπινεύων τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἴτε μὴν ὁ γῆθεν καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνατρέχων εἰς οὐρανούς, ἡ τῶν πατριαρχῶν θεοειδὴς κορυφή, ὁ χαριτώνυμος κτλ.* (fol. 276). The second and third Patriarchs are evidently George II Xiphilinos (1191-1198) and JohnX Kamateros (1198-1206). J. Darrouzès *loc. cit.* identifies the first as Luke Chrysoberges (1157-1169/70), but this is

not consistent with the sixteen-year period of which Stilbes speaks. As we have seen, the first appointment to SS. Peter and Paul must belong to the years 1182-1186, i.e. to the patriarchates of Theodosios I Boradiotes or Basil II Kamateros. The passage just quoted implies that one of Stilbes' promotions preceding that as *didaskalos tou apostolou* was made by George II Xiphilinos. If this was to the office of *didaskalos tou psalteros* — which he held for two years, we get the following dates :

Original appointment	1182-1184
Second appointment	1194-1196
Didaskalos tou psalteros	1196-1198
Didaskalos tou apostolou	1198-1200

If it refers to the second appointment, these dates can be lowered by two years. In fact, therefore, this piece of evidence does not enable us to date Stilbes' career with any greater accuracy than we have already attempted.

Whether Stilbes satisfied his expressed ambition (fol. 176v-177) and became *oikoumenikos didaskalos* we do not know. But before 1204 he was appointed Metropolitan of Cyzicus, and following orthodox custom, adopted the monastic name of Cyril (12, 13 tit.). Nothing is known of the date of his death or retirement.

Of Stilbes' surviving works, 2. has already been discussed. 4. belongs to his period in SS. Peter and Paul, the occasion is the Patriarch's second annual visit to the church, i.e. probably 1193-1194. 5. is a portion of a festival sermon on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul from the same period. 6. can perhaps be connected — since the addressee is said to be abroad — with Aulikalamos' embassy to Venice in 1199 (cf. M. Treu, *Eustathii Macrembolitae aenigmata* 32-33). 8. belongs to 1197 or very shortly afterwards. 10, if we have idenfied the subject correctly, must be a youthful work, dating from 1178. 12. is presumably the product of his episcopate. 1., 3. and 9. date from his period as a teacher, and 3. is in addition limited to the years 1191-1198. 7. and 11. cannot be dated on the evidence available, and 14. is of doubtful authenticity.

Stilbes is an interesting character, equally at home as preacher and poet. There are a number of obscure allusions in 4. which suggest that he had been involved in some heresy and only recently restored to favour (e.g. *οὕτω τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κώνειον δειπνοῦσιν ἡμῖν τῶν πατριαρχῶν ὁ σοφώτατος κιρνᾷς τὰς ἀντιδότους τῶν παραινεσέων* 5. fol. 278). The titles of the surviving homilies suggest that they came from a collection made after he became Metropolitan of Cyzicus.

THEOPHYLAKTOS ὁ Ἁγιοαναργυρίτης

Works

None attested.

Career

ὁ εὐτελὴς διάκονος τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ πατριαρχικὸς νοτάριος Θεοφύλακτος διδάσκαλος ὁ Ἁγιοαναργυρίτης appears among the signatories of the synodal decision referred to under Niketas Mesarites, which must be dated 1172. His signature precedes that of Mesarites. As such documents are usually signed in strict order of seniority, Theophylaktos must be *didaskalos tou euangeliou* or *tou apostolou*. As he does not call himself *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, there is a slight presumption that he held the latter office, but the question must be left open. Theophylaktos seems otherwise quite unknown.

THEORIANOS

Works

1. Report to Manuel I on conversations with Armenian Katholikos Nerses IV and Jacobite Katholikos in 1169 and 1171 (*M.P.G.* 133 113-298).
2. Letter to priests in Oreine (ed. R. J. Loenertz, *L'épître de Théorien le philosophe aux prêtres d'Oreine, Mémorial L. Petit,* 317-335).

Career

Theorianos is addressed by Manuel I in 1169 as *ho maistor Theorianos kai philosophos* (1. 120), and manuscripts of the Report regularly call him *maistor kai philosophos* or the like (e.g. Alexandr. 288 fol. 90, 119). Loenertz *op. cit.* 319 supposes him to have been *hypatos ton philosophon* in 1169. But Michael *ho tou Anchialou* held this office until his elevation to the Patriarchate at the beginning of 1170 (1). I therefore incline to suppose that Theorianos held a teaching post — whether in theology or rhetoric and philosophy — in the Patriarchal School. This would in any case be a more natural choice for such a task. We know nothing else of his career.

THETTALOS

Works

None known.

Career

John Tzetzes ep. 106 is addressed *τῷ οἰκουμενικῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πατριάρχου τῷ Θετταλῷ*. It complains that a deacon *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Παπίου μονῆς ἐργαστηρίου ἐπωνυμίαν λαβών*, under the addressee's control has been spreading *χάρτας κατά τινων* in *τῷ τῶν Κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων ναῷ*, i.e. in the church of SS. Peter and Paul in the Orphanotropheion, which, as we have seen, was the site of a section of the Patriarchal School. Tzetzes was probably born c. 1112 (cf. C. Wendel, *R.E.*, 7A (1948) 1961, 9) and died after Sept 1180. Thettalos' tenure of office therefore falls between about 1135 and 1180. If, as has been suggested (Wendel, *op. cit.* 1992). Tzetzes' letters are arranged chronologically, then ep. 106, and with it Thettalos' didascalate, must belong to the closing years of Tzetzes' life. This man may possibly be *ὁ μακαρίτης Δημήτριος ὁ Θετταλός*, alluded to by Michael Choniates in a letter to Eustathios (Sp. Lampros, *Michael Akominatou ta sozomena* 2.22).

(1) Cf. V. GRUMEL, *Manuel d'études byzantines, La Chronologie,* 436.

GEORGIOS TORNIKES I

Works

1. Corpus of 25 letters addressed as follows:

I.	Metropolitan of Athens
II.	Megas Skeuophylax John Pantechnes
III.	John Comnenus, son of Megas Drungarios Constantine
IV.	Alexios Kontostephanos
V.	Megas Oikonomos Aristenos
VI.	*Ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν* and Nomophylax, Theodoros Pantechnes
VII.	*Ὑπομιμνήσκων* and Patriarchal secretary Bukinatikos (?)
VIII.	Eirene, daughter of Kaisarissa Anna Comnena
IX.	Metropolitan of Athens
X.	Logothete of the Drome John Kamateros
XI.	Protos of Ganos
XII.	Andronikos Comnenus
XIII.	Metropolitan of Athens
XIV.	Do.
XV.	Do.
XVI.	The Agent in Ephesos of Alexios Gefard.
XVII.	Metropolitan of Smyrna
XVIII.	Alexios, Dux of Dyrrhachion and Achris, son of Kaisar Bryennios
XIX.	John Kamateros
XX.	Metropolitan of Athens
XXI.	John Kamateros
XXII.	Do.
XXIII.	*Ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων* Andronikos Kamateros
XXIV.	*Ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου* Theodoros Styppeiotes
XXV.	Dux of Thrakesion Alexios Gefard.

(The letters to the Metropolitan of Athens, nos. I, IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XX are published by S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα* II 409-428, 25 is edited by S. Lampros, *N.E.* 13 (1916) 12, the corpus is preserved in Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 9v-19v. Titles and incipits are published — not always correctly — by S. Lampros, *N.E.* 13 (1916) 3-22).

2. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τορνίκη προοίμιον ὅτε προεβλήθη διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτῆρος παρὰ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Κοσμᾶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.* incip: *ἐξεγέρθητι ἡ δόξα μου, ἐξεγέρθητι ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάρα* (Vindob. phil. gr. 321 fol. 19v-21v).
3. *Λόγος τοῦ αὐτοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τορνίκη ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτης κυρᾶς Ἄννης τῆς καισαρίσσης, ἔτι ὄντος ὑπομνηματογράφου.* incip: *οὐκ εὔκαιρος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος* (*ibid.* fol. 21v-34v).
4. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τορνίκη μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Ῥώμης ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ ἑνώσεως ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον συνιστᾷ ὡς μείζονα τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης.* incip: *ἀπεκομίσθη τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς ἁγιότητος* (*ibid.* fol. 52-53, excerpts ed. N. Festa, *Bessarione* 6 (1899/1900) 43-44).
5. *Γνώμη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ κινηθέντι δόγματι εἰ ὁ υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυσίαν ὡς ἄνθρωπος προσάγων καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ὡς θεὸς προσεδέχετο παρὰ τοῦ πατρός.* incip: *πιστεύω τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (*ibid.* fol. 53-54).
6. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοίμιον διδασκαλλίας λεχθὲν ὅταν προσετάχθη παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου διδάξαι ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ τότε ῥήτορος καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ διδασκάλου.* incip: *εὑρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν* (ibid. fol. 54-55rv).
7. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοίμιον διδασκαλίας ὅτε προεβλήθη εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.* incip: *ἦλθε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡ χάρις τοῦ πνεύματος* (*ibid.* fol. 55v-58v).

Career

Lampros identified the Metropolitan of Athens to whom six letters are addressed with Michael Choniates, and hence by implication dated Tornikes in the last two decades of the twelfth century. Doubts were expressed on this identification by Stadtmüller (1). Study of the whole corpus of his writings makes it clear that Tornikes' activity as teacher and bishop belongs to the middle years of the twelfth century,

(1) *Michael Choniates Metropolit von Athen* [*Orientalia Christiana* 33.2], 1934, 131.

to which period all identifiable addressees of his correspondance belong (1).

He was appointed *didaskalos tou psalteros* in 1146-47 (2. tit.), and later *didaskalos tou euangeliou* (7. tit.). As the office of hypomnematographos is higher in the hierarchy than that of *didaskalos tou euangeliou*, it probably represents the next step in his career (1. IX tit., 3. tit.). While still in Constantinople he was called upon to deputise for the then *maistor ton rhetoron* and *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (6 .tit.). It is clear from the text of this oration that he had recently himself retired from the office of *didaskalos tou euangeliou*. Michael Thessalonicensis (q.v.) is known to have combined the offices of *maistor ton rhetoron* and *didaskalos tou euangeliou*, and it is likely that it is for him that Tornikes is deputising. As Michael was deposed from office in 1156 (Niket. Chon. 275.23, Kinnam. 176), this provides a *terminus ante quem* for this stage in Tornikes' career.

He was next considered for the metropolitan see of Corinth, which he refused (I. XIII) and finally appointed Metropolitan of Ephesos (1. I, tit., 1. X. tit., 3. tit., 4. tit., etc.). The exact date cannot be determined. It must have been before 1158, when Manuel I was in the neighbourhood of Ephesos, as Tornikes speaks of his presence there in 1. IX. No Metropolitan of Ephesos attended the Councils of 26 Jan. 1156 (*M.P.G.* 140. 148) or 12 May 1157 (*M.P.G.* 140. 177 ff., 199). If, as seems likely from its contents, 5. is the profession of faith sent by Tornikes to one or other of these Councils in lieu of personal attendance, then his elevation to the see of Ephesus must be before May 1157, and perhaps before Jan. 1156. By about 1166 Tornikes is acting as theological counsellor to Manuel I in his negotiations on unity with Pope Alexander III. The letter to the Pope (4.) is sent in answer to a letter from the Pope referring to overtures made on Manuel's behalf by a *πρίγκιψ Καπύης*. This can only refer to the mission of the Sebastos Jordanos, son of Robert, Prince

(1) On Tornikes' life and works cf. R. Browning, *An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena*, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 188 (1962), 1-12.

of Capua (Boson, *Vita Alexandri III* in *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, II. 415) dated by P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer* II. 132 probably after May 1166. Tornikes must have died or retired shortly after this, as by 10 July 1167 Nikolaos is attested as Metropolitan of Ephesus (L. Petit, *Viz. Vrem.* 11. 477-8).

Of his surviving works, which I described in greater detail in a paper read at the 12th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 2. and 7. belong to his period as a teacher in the Patriarchal School, 1. IX, 3., and 6. were written when he was *hypomnematographos*, 1. X, 1. XVI, 1. XVII and 1. XXV were written after his appointment as Metropolitan, but before he went to Ephesus, and the remaining works, except possibly some of the letters, belong to his period as Metropolitan of Ephesus.

Whether the corpus in Vindob. phil. gr. 321, which is split in two owing to disarrangement of the gatherings, is a complete collection of Tornikes' works or is excerpted from a larger collection cannot be determined.

In 1. IX and XVI he speaks of his cousin (*ἐξάδελφος*) Euthymios, Patriarchal Notary. This may well be Euthymios Tornikes, addressee of a number of letters of Michael Choniates, nephew of Euthymios Malakes, and later Bishop of Patrae, whence he was expelled by the Latins after 1204. In any case the family is prominent in Byzantine public life in the twelfth century. Cf. among others Demetrios Tornikes, *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*, addressee of Michael Choniates *ep.* 31 and 32, dated 1185 and a little later, who is attested as *logothetes tou dromou* in 1192 (Dölger, *Regesten* No. 1610) and 1199 (*Actes de l'Athos* V. 5. 82), his son Constantine Tornikes, *logothetes tou dromou* after 1200, addressee of Michael Choniates *ep.* 77 ; Georgios Tornikes II, *maistor ton rhetoron* in the closing years of the twelfth century.

Georgios Tornikes II

Works

1. *Λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Λαζάρου ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφωτάτου μαΐστορος τῶν*

ῥητόρων κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τορνίκη. incip : *ἆρα εἴ τις σοφιστεύειν ἐπιβαλλόμενος* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 75v-81).

2. *Λόγος τοῦ λογιωτάτου μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τορνίκη εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κυρὸν Ἰσαάκιον τὸν Ἄγγελον, ἀναγνωσθεὶς πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν Φώτων, καθ' ἣν εἴωθεν ἀναγινώσκειν ὁ ῥήτωρ, διὰ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα σταλήσεσθαι πρὸς ἐκστρατείαν ἀπόδημον.* (ed. W. Regel. *F.R.B.* 254-280).
3. *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου μαΐστορος τῶν ῥητόρων κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Τορνίκη λόγος δεύτερος ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ εἰς τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Γεώργιον.* incip : *ἦ που ὦ παρόντες* (Scorial. Y-II-10 fol. 343-350v).
4. Funeral oration on Andronikos Kontostephanos (now lost, mentioned in title of John Apokaukos *epigr.* 8, ed. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Athena* 15 (1903) 470).

Career

Tornikes was *maistor ton rhetoron* in the last decade of the twelfth century. 2. is probably to be dated in 1193 (1). 3. must fall within the years 1192-1199, and could perhaps be more precisely dated. 4. presumably refers to Andronikos Kontostephanos, son-in-law of Alexios III, who was alive in 1195 (Nik. Chon. 641), rather than to his namesake the general at Myriokephalon twenty years before. Tornikes was succeeded in office, whether immediately or not, by Nikephoros Chrysoberges (q.v.), attested as *maistor ton rhetoron* in 1200.

I append tables of the Fasti of four of the teaching posts in the Patriarchal School. In view of what has been said in the preceding pages, there is no need to emphasise their provisional character. Many of the names which have been discussed do not appear in the tables, because of uncertainty regarding office held or date.

(1) Cf. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II Angelos (1185-1195) nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Kaisers aus zeitgenössischen rhetorischen Quellen*, 1935, 56.

Oikoumenikos Didaskalos

1092-	Eustathios III
	Niketas *ὁ τοῦ Σερρῶν*
1142-1143	Michael Italicus
	George Tornikes I
-1156	Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*
-1159	Nikolaos *ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον*
-1166	Schizenos
	John Kastamonites
c. 1186	Leo Balianites
c. 1200	Constantine Kaloethes

Didaskalos tou apostolou

Before 1143	Michael Italicus
c. 1153	Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*
-1156	Nikephoros Basilakes
1172	Theophylaktos *ὁ Ἁγιοαναργυρίτης* (?)
Before 1186	John Kastamonites
c. 1200	Constantine Stilbes

Didaskalos tou psalteros

Before 1143	Michael Italicus
1146-1147	George Tornikes I
c. 1150	Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*
	Nikolaos *ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον*
1172	Niketas Mesarites
1183-1185	John Mesarites
Before 1186	Leo Balianites
	Constantine Stilbes
c. 1200	John Mesarites

Maistor ton rhetoron

c. 1120-1150	Gregorios Pardos (?)
c. 1147-1151	Muzalon
	Nikephoros Basilakes (?)
-1156	Michael *ὁ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*
-1159	Nikolaos *ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον*
1166	Basileios
1169	Theorianos (?)

1170	Constantine (?)
-1174	Eustathios ὁ κατὰ Φλῶρον
c. 1186-1189	Basileios Pediadites (?)
c. 1193	George Tornikes II
1200-1203	Nikephoros Chrysoberges

In conclusion I wish to thank the following for help in providing photographs of manuscripts and other material: the authorities of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, the Bodleian Library, the Biblioteca del Escorial, the Österreichische National-bibliothek, the Library of the University of California, and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris.

Addendum.

NICETAS, Metropolitan of Nicomedia.

Anselm of Havelberg on his visit to Constantinople in 1135 took part in public theological discussion with Nicetas, who was then head of a group of twelve teachers of profane science and theology. 'Fuit autem idem archiepiscopus Nechites praecipuus inter duodecim didascalos, qui iuxta morem sapientium Graecorum, et liberalium artium et divinarum scripturarum studia regunt' (*M.P.L.* 188.1141). This looks like a reference to the Patriarchal School: but Nicetas can scarcely have been both *oikumenikos didaskalos* and archbishop. The number of *twelve* teachers recurs elsewhere, in accounts of the apocryphal burning of the teachers in their school by Leo III. There is evidently some confusion behind Anselm's account. If Nicetas was oikumenikos didaskalos, he will have been the close or immediate predecessor of Michael Italicus. On Anselm and Nicetas cf. Vasil'evskij, *Vasilija Okhridskago neizdannoe nadgrobnoe slovo*, in *Viz. Vrem.* 1 (1894) 62.

A BYZANTINE TREATISE ON TRAGEDY

The treatise which is the subject of the present study occurs, so far as I know, only in cod. Oxon. Barocci 131, where it occupies fol. 415—415ᵘ. This manuscript, a miscellany written about the year 1300, is particularly rich in 11th and 12th century texts, many of which are unique.[1] It is evidently, like cod. Scorial. Y-II-10, cod. Vindob. phil. gr. 321, cod. Vat. gr. 305 and other manuscripts, the work of a late 13th century compiler anxious to salvage what he could of the rhetorical and philosophical literature of the century before the Latin capture. It consists of a number of separate blocks of text, often marked by change of hand, new gatherings, and other signs. These blocks were presumably copied from different exemplars. The block in which the present text occurs, occupying gatherings 52—56 (fol. 404—446ᵘ), is a miscellany of short philosophical, physical, medical and rhetorical texts. None is attributed to an author in this manuscript. But of those items which also occur in other manuscripts, six are attributed in these to Michael Psellus, while none — apart from those which are mere excerpts from classical writers — is attributed to any other author.[2] There is therefore a presumption — it amounts to no more than that — that the

[1] Though Barocci 131 has never received the full study which it deserves, it has often been described and discussed by editors of texts contained in it. A bibliography of references to it, which is almost complete, is furnished by S. Weinstock, *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum Graecorum IX i*, 16.
[2] The pieces attributed to Psellus are as follows:
fol. 411—411ᵘ, ed. R. Hercher, *Philol. 8 (1853)*, 166—168;
fol. 414—415, ed. J. F. Boissonnade, *Michael Psellus De operatione daemonum*, 1838, 69—73;
fol. 416—419ᵘ, ed. in part. S. Weinstock, *CCAG IX 1*, 121—128;
fol. 437ᵘ—438, ed. F. Lasserre, *L'antiquité classique 9 (1959)*, 76—79;
fol. 438—439, ed. E. Kurtz — F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora I*, 1936, 386—388;
fol. 440—440ᵘ, ed. E. Kurtz — F. Drexl, *op. cit.* 411—414.
There may well be other items attributable to Psellus which have escaped my notice. Even with the aid of Chr. Baur's *Initia patrum Graecorum* it is no easy matter to track down the place of publication of a Byzantine text.

whole block of texts in Barocci 131 is by Michael Psellus, and is derived ultimately from a note-book or collection of drafts made by him.

Be that as it may, the present text, whether it is the work of Michael Psellus or of someone else, is one of the few Byzantine discussions of Greek tragedy which survive. Parts of it, as will be shown in the commentary, derive from the same source as John Tzetzes' poem Περὶ τραγῳδίας (ed. Kaibel *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta* I 47ff.). As Kaibel has shown (*Abhandl. Gött.* 1898) Tzetzes' information stems ultimately from the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus. And the parts of the present text which have no parallel in Tzetzes' poem clearly contain the débris of Hellenistic literary theory, and incidentally provide a certain amount of new information. For these reasons the text merits publication. In the commentary I shall endeavour to trace statements in the text to their possible immediate or ultimate sources. Others will no doubt be able to correct and supplement the suggestions which I make. I worked through this text with a seminar in the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London in 1960—61. The many suggestions and observations made by its members were most valuable. The responsibility for accepting or rejecting them is mine alone. A draft of this paper was read by Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram and Dr. E. K. Borthwick. Both of these scholars made valuable criticisms and suggestions, which have been attributed to their authors in the final text. And in particular Professor Winnington-Ingram prepared the commentary on the whole of paragraph 5 of the text, dealing with tragic music.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑΣ

fol. 415 1. Ἡ τραγῳδία, περὶ ἧς ἠρώτησας, ὑποκείμενα μὲν ἔχει, ἃ δὴ καὶ μιμεῖται, πάθη τε καὶ πράξεις, ὁποῖα τὰ ἑκάτερα. οἷς δὲ μιμεῖται μῦθος, διάνοια, λέξις, μέτρον, ῥυθμός, μέλος, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ὄψεις, αἱ σκηναί, οἱ τόποι, αἱ κινήσεις· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ὁ σκηνοποιός, τὰ δὲ ὁ χορηγός, τὰ δὲ ⟨ὁ⟩ ὑποκρίτης ἀποδίδωσι. μέρη δὲ τραγῳδίας πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδιον, ἔξοδος, χορικόν, ἀπὸ σκηνῆς. χορικοῦ δε πάροδος, στάσιμον, ἐμμέλεια, κομμός, ἔξοδος.

2. Τὰ δὲ πάθη μᾶλλον μιμεῖται ἢ τὰς πράξεις· τὸ γὰρ πρωταγωνιστοῦν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τραγικοῖς δράμασι τὸ πάθος ἐστί. μιμεῖται δὲ ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ἦθος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς στασίμοις ᾄσμασιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις ⟨αἱ⟩ ἠθικαὶ καὶ γνωμολογίαι καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεις. μιμεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων πολλά. ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις δυσμιμητοτέρα τοῦ πάθους. οὐ τὰς τυχούσας δὲ πράξεις ἡ τραγῳδία μιμεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἡρωϊκῶν καὶ πρακτικῶν ἠθῶν εἰσιν οἰκεῖα καὶ μεγαλοψύχων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν τελευτῶσι εἰς πάθη. πολλαὶ μὲν

5 τόποι] τύποι legendum censet Borthwick. 6 ὁ addidi. πρόλογον ... ἔξοδον cod. 7 πάριδος cod. στάσιμμον ... κομὸς cod. 11 αἱ addidi.

γάρ εἰσι πράξεις καλαὶ μὲν καὶ σπουδαῖαι, ἀτράγῳδοι δέ.

3. Τῶν δὲ τραγῳδιῶν τὸ μέν ἐστι δέσις, τὸ δὲ λύσις. γίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων μεταβολή, τὰ πολλὰ οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίου τινός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκκύκλημα καλούμενον αἴτημα δραματικὸν τοῦ φαίνεσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκήσει πραττόμενα. ἔχει δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ ἄγγελον καὶ ἐξάγγελον καὶ σκοπόν, διαμεμηχάνηται δὲ καί τινα ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐφ' ὧν οἵ τέ θεοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τινὲς φαίνονται. γίνεται δὲ καὶ εἷς χορὸς ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ δύο· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον καλεῖται διχορία.

fol. 415v 4. Διαιρεῖται δὲ ἡ τραγικὴ ποίησις εἴς τε τὸν χορικὸν/καλούμενον τρόπον καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, ἑκάτερον δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς ᾠδὴν καὶ λέξιν. τῆς δὲ λέξεως τὸ μὲν ἐστι μέτρον, οἷον ἰαμβικόν, τροχαϊκὸν, τὸ δὲ περίοδος, οἷον ἀναπαιστικὴ, ἰαμβικὴ. τοῦ δὲ μέτρου τὸ μὲν πρόλογος, τὸ δὲ ἐπεισόδιον, τὸ δὲ ἔξοδος, τῆς δὲ ᾠδῆς ἡ χορικὴ εἰς πέντε μέρη διήρηται, ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστι πάροδος, τὸ δὲ στάσιμον, τὸ δὲ ἐμμέλεια, τὸ δὲ κομμός, τὸ δὲ ἔξοδος. ἔστι δὲ ὁ κομμὸς θρῆνος κεκινημένος καὶ ἐπιτεταμένος.

5. Ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ τραγικὴ μελοποιία γένει μὲν τῷ ἐναρμονίῳ ἐχρήσατο ἀμιγεῖ καὶ μικτῷ γένει τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ διατόνων, χρώματι δὲ οὐδεὶς φαίνεται κεχρημένος τῶν τραγικῶν ἄχρις Εὐριπίδου· μαλακὸν γὰρ τὸ ἦθος τοῦ γένους τούτου. τῶν δὲ τόνων πλεῖστον μὲν ἡ παλαιὰ κέχρηται τῷ τε Δωρίῳ καὶ τῷ Μιξολυδίῳ, τῷ μὲν ὡς σεμνότητος οἰκείῳ, τῷ δὲ Μιξολυδίῳ ὡς συνεργῷ πρὸς τοὺς οἴκτους. κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀνειμέναις τότε καλουμέναις ἁρμονίαις, τῇ τε Ἰαστὶ καὶ ἀνειμένῃ Λυδιστί. τοῦ δὲ Φρυγίου καὶ Λυδίου Σοφοκλῆς ἥψατο πρῶτος. κέχρηται δὲ τῷ Φρυγίῳ διθυραμβικώτερον. ὁ δὲ Ὑποφρύγιος καὶ ὁ Ὑποδώριος σπάνιοι παρ' αὐτῇ εἰσιν, ὡς . . . διθυράμβῳ προσήκοντες. πρῶτος δὲ Ἀγάθων τὸν Ὑποδώριον τόνον εἰς τραγῳδίαν εἰσήνεγκεν καὶ τὸν Ὑποφρύγιον. ὅ γε μὴν Λύδιος τῷ κιθαρῳδικῷ τρόπῳ οἰκειότερός ἐστι. συστήμασι δὲ οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ μικροῖς ἐχρῶντο, Εὐριπίδης πρῶτος πολυχορδίᾳ ἐχρήσατο. ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν μουσικῶν ⟨τῶν⟩ παλαιῶν ἀνάτρητος ὁ τρόπος οὗτος τῆς μελοποιίας· καὶ καθόλον εἰπεῖν Εὐριπίδης πολυειδέστερός ἐστι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυχρούστερος, καὶ ἐχρήσατο καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ βακχείοις ἁπλοῖς τε καὶ διπλοῖς, καὶ τῷ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος ἰωνικῷ, καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον προκελευσματικῷ.

15 ἀτρά ... δας cod. 16 δὲ *tertium* Winnington-Ingram, ἢ cod. 17 ἐγκέκλημα cod. 19 δράγμα cod. καὶ ἄγγελον bis in cod. 20 τινος φαίνεται cod. 25 ἀναπαιστικὸν cod. 31 γένει τῆς Winnington-Ingram. ἐνικῆς cod. διατόνων Winnington-Ingram διτόνων cod. 32 τὸν τραγικὸν cod. 33 πλείστοις cod. 36 φοδίου cod. 37 φοδίῳ cod. 38 αὐτῆς cod. ὥστε ἐστὶ θυράμβῳ cod. προσή...τες cod. πρῶτος] ἄῖος cod. 40 ὁ· ὥς cod. τὸν κιθαρῳδικὸν τρόπον cod. 41 πρῶτος] ᾱ cod. πολυχορδίου cod. 42 τῶν addidi. 44 ἐχρήσατο· ἐχρῆ δὲ cod. προσήκοις cod. ῥυθμῶ cod. βραχείοις cod. 45 ἀπ' Winnington-Ingram, ἐπ' cod. ὀλίγον Winnington-Ingram, ὀλίγῳ cod.

6. Δεῖ δὲ τὴν λέξιν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μὴ ὑποπεπτωκέναι τῷ μέλει καὶ τῷ ῥυθμῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιδέξιον εἶναι. τὸ λίαν δὲ ἐνδινεύεσθαι ἀνάρμοστον τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ τῷ ταύτης ἀξιώματι.

7. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τραγικοῖς μέλεσι στροφὴ ⟨ἢ⟩ καὶ περίοδος καὶ τὸ ἀντίστροφον. Καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι μακρὰ, τὰ δὲ ἀντίστροφα. τῶν ἀντιστρόφων δὲ τὰ μὲν μονόστροφα, τὰ δὲ ἐπῳδικὰ καλεῖται. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ προῳδικὸν καὶ μεσῳδικόν. κοινῶς δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀντιστρόφων μελῶν τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ, τὰ δὲ μεταβολικά. γίνεται δὲ ἡ μεταβολὴ ἢ ἐκ μονοστρόφου εἰς μονόστροφον ἢ ἐξ ἐπῳδικοῦ εἰς ἐπῳδικὸν ἢ ἐκ μονοστρόφου εἰς ἐπῳδικὸν ἢ ἀνάπαλιν.

8. Περὶ δὲ μέτρου τραγικοῦ ἁπλοῦς πάντως ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος. σχεδὸν γὰρ δύο μέτροις οἵ γε δὴ πολλοὶ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ κέχρηνται, ⟨τῷ⟩ τε ἰαμβικῷ καὶ τῷ τροχαϊκῷ τετραμέτρῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀναπαιστικὸν τετράμετρον παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ μόνον τῷ παλαιῷ τετύχηκε χρήσεως.

9. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερά τινα συνταττόμενα τοῖς τραγικοῖς μέλεσί τε καὶ μέτροις, οἷον μεσαύλιον, ἐπίφθεγμα, ἀναβόημα, ἀνάπαιστον ἔρρυθμον. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μεσαύλια κρουμάτια βραχέα μεταξὺ τῶν μελῶν ταττόμενα. τῶν δὲ ἐπιφθεγμάτων πλείω μέν ἐστιν ἡ χρῆσις ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς δράμασιν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τραγικοῖς. τὸ δὲ ἀναβόημά ἐστι μὲν τῶν ᾀδομένων σχεδόν τι, μεταξὺ δέ ἐστιν ᾠδῆς καὶ καταλογῆς. ἔστι δὲ ὅτε οἱ τραγικοὶ ἐπίσκηνα συντιθέασιν ἀνάπαιστα, καὶ χορικὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ὅλα πρόσωπα ἐκπληροῦσι δι' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις προτάττουσιν αὐτὰ τῶν μελῶν.

10. Ἡ δὲ κορωνὶς μέρους ἐστὶ σημεῖον, ὅταν οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ἐξελθόντες τῆς σκηνῆς μόνον τὸν χορὸν καταλείπωσι, καὶ ἐπεισέλθωσι πάλιν, ὁπόταν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἔστιν ἀλλάξαι, καὶ τόπον καὶ χορὸν, καὶ ὅλον τὸν μῦθον, ἀρχῇ δὲ ἐπεισοδίου ἢ τελευτῇ. καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μελῶν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ἔγκειται, τὰ δὲ τῷ χορῷ ὑπόκειται.

11. Τῶν δὲ ὑποκριτῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ ὠρχήσατο, ἀλλ' ἦν ἴδιος τοῦ χοροῦ ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνέργεια. ἔπειθ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν εἶδος τῆς τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως ἡ προσαγορευομένη ἐμμέλεια, ὥσπερ τῆς μὲν σατυρικῆς ἡ σίκιννις, τῆς δὲ κωμικῆς ὁ κόρδαξ ἐπονομαζόμενος. τὸ δὲ τῆς ὀρχήσεως εἶδος σεμνὸν ἦν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ μεγάλας ἔχον τὰς μεταξὺ τῶν κινήσεων ἠρεμίας.

12. Μετὰ πλείστης δὲ σπουδῆς τὰς περιόδους πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾖδον οἱ τραγικοὶ

47 ὑποπτωκέναι cod. 50 ἢ add. Winnington-Ingram. 53 προσωπικὸν cod. μεσοδικὸν cod. 54 μεταβολικά] ἀμετάβολα cod. 55 ἐξ ἐπῳδικοῦ· ἐξωδικοῦ] cod. 58 τῷ addidi 62 μεσάλιον cod. 63 μεσαύλια] κτηματι . . . α cod. 66 ἐπίσκηνα Sophroniou, ἐπιστήμη cod. 67 χωρικὰ cod. 68 πράττουσιν cod. 71 ἀλάξαι cod. 73 an τοῦ χοροῦ ? 74 ὠρχήσατο Winnington-Ingram, ἐχρήσατο cod. 76 ἡ· ὅ ἢ cod. τοῖς μὲν σατυρικοῖς cod. 78 κιννίρων cod. 79 περιόδους Winnington-Ingram, παρόδους cod. αὐτὸν cod.

χοροί, καὶ προσηύλουν αὐταῖς οἱ κράτιστοι αὐληταί, ὁ μὲν τὴν χρωματικὴν περίοδον, ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐναρμόνιον, ὁ δὲ τὴν σύντονον. καὶ κιθάρᾳ δὲ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἐχρήσατο καὶ Εὐριπίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ λύρᾳ ἐν τῷ Θαμυρᾷ.

80 τῶν χρωματικῶν cod. 81 σύντονον διάτονον mavult Winnington-Ingram haud scio an recte 82 Σοφολῆς Σοφοκλῆς cod.

COMMENTARY

At the outset it should be noted that this treatise does not deal with the origin of tragedy or the etymology of the word, favourite topics with the Byzantine reader (cf. Schol. ad Dionys. Thrac. p. 746, 22ff., E. M. p. 764, 1ff., Tzetzes, Prol. ad Lycophronem 1, p. 254 M, Diomedes III, 8 etc.). Nor does it list the main practitioners of the art. Nor indeed does it touch on many of the topics with which we might expect it to deal. Whether this selectivity is to be attributed to the compiler or to his sources cannot be determined with certainty. But since information on the origin and etymology of tragedy was readily available, it is most reasonable to suppose that the compiler of set purpose excluded it from his treatise.

Section 1. The subject-matter and parts of tragedy. The subject-matter is dealt with in greater detail in section 2. The parts are not touched on again until section 4, and there only the second of the subdivisions in section 1 is discussed. See below.

περὶ ἧς ἠρώτησας: This is the language of a teacher answering a query of a pupil, whether verbally or in writing. Several of the other texts in this section of cod. Barocci 131 are of this kind. Cf. fol. 406^{u} τῶν ἰατρικῶν σου ἐρωτημάτων λύσις αὕτη, fol. 408 περὶ τοῦ φυσικοῦ ἡμῖν ἐπεζήτησας σπερμάτων, fol. 432^{u} ἠρώτησας πότερον τὰ γένη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχὰς δεῖ λέγειν, etc. Other examples of this style of opening are Psellus, *Characteres SS. Greg. Naz. etc.* M.P.G. 122, 901, Joannes Italos, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, ed. P. Joannou, No. 86, Psellus' letter on music (H. Abert, *Ein ungedruckter Brief des Michael Psellus über die Musik*, Sammelbände der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft 2 (1900/01), 335-339), a text similar in style and arrangement to the subject of the present study.

ὁποῖα τὰ ἑκάτερα: Presumably = ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ τὰ ἑκάτερα. I cannot provide an exact parallel for this construction. But ellipse of the verb is common in Psellus after οἷος and ὁποῖος.[3]

οἷς δε μιμεῖται κτλ.: This tenfold subdivision of the constituent elements of tragedy is related to that in Aristotle *AP* 1450^{b}, 7ff. ἀνάγκη οὖν πάσης

[3] Cf. G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* 66.

τραγῳδίας μέρη εἶναι ἕξ, καθ' ὃ ποιά τις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μῦθος καὶ ἤθη καὶ λέξις καὶ διάνοια καὶ ὄψις καὶ μελοποιία. The classification here is more detailed, and presumably later. A possible ultimate source is the *Poetics* of Theophrastus, on which cf. most recently A. Dosi, Sulle tracce della Poetica di Teofrasto, Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche 94 (1960), 599—672.

μέτρον, ῥυθμός, μέλος: μέτρον is dealt with in section 8, μέλος in section 7. ῥυθμός is covered by section 11 on tragic dancing.

αἱ ὄψεις: The make-up and visible appearance of the actors. Cf. Aristot. *AP*. 1450^b 20 ἔτι δὲ κυριωτέρα περὶ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄψεων ἡ τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ τέχνη τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐστιν.

οἱ τόποι: Presumably the reference is to the revolving περίακτοι or other visible signs of locality such as the parodoi, as opposed to the stage buildings. Borthwick suggest τύποι ("poses"), comparing Aristides Quintilianus 2. 10.

σκηνοποιός: σκευοποιός is the word used by Aristophanes, Aristotle, etc. But σκηνοποιός is supported by Com. adesp. 98 Kock (= Pollux 7, 189).

μέρη δὲ τραγῳδίας κτλ.: Aristotle *AP*. 1452^b 14ff. has a fourfold division into πρόλογος ἐπεισόδιον ἔξοδος χορικόν, which is applied to comedy by Tzetzes, Prooem. in Aristoph., p. 28, 115 Kaibel, id: Ἴαμβοι περὶ κωμῳδίας 11ff., Tractatus Coislinianus, para. 9, etc. The present five-fold division seems to be the result of a careless conflation of two separate divisions, that into πρόλογος ἐπεισόδιον ἔξοδος and that into χορικόν and ἀπὸ σκηνῆς. The two are found side by side in Tzetzes Περὶ τραγικῆς ποιήσεως 9—25, and in section 4 of the present treatise. Or it may be that ἀπὸ σκηνῆς has simply been added to Aristotle's four-fold division.

πάροδος, στάσιμον, ἐμμέλεια, κομμός, ἔξοδος: The same classification recurs in section 4 and in Tzetzes Περὶ τραγ. ποι. 29—31, 83—85.

Ἐμμέλεια cannot here refer to the tragic dance of that name, discussed in section 11. Tzetzes Περὶ τραγ. ποι. 60 calls it ᾠδῆς τι μέλος (though later, v. 74, by an oversight he calls it τραγῳδίας ὄρχησις) and states that it was not mentioned by "Eukleides". "Eukleides" therefore cannot be the immediate common source of Tzetzes and the present treatise. Perhaps ἐμμέλεια is here used to describe a short choral passage in the middle of an episode, e.g. Rhes. 131ff., 195ff., 882ff., etc. Though rare, the usage is ancient, cf. Pollux, 4, 53: πάροδος, στάσιμον, ἐμμέλεια in a list of types of poem and song. Ἔξοδος is not used in the same sense as in the immediately preceding clause (= μέρος ὅλον τραγῳδίας μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστι χοροῦ μέλος, Aristot. *AP*, 1452^b 21) but, must have been equivalent to ἐξόδιον (μέλος), cf. Poll. 4, 108.

Section 2. τὰ δὲ πάθη μᾶλλον μιμεῖται ἢ τὰς πράξεις: Implicit in Aristotle's Poetics but nowhere stated. Cf. however Longinus in Walz., Rh. Gr. IX 594: τὸ πάθος πολὺ μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τραγικῇ.

γνωμολογίαις: "generalisations" as in Plato, Phaedr. 267c, Plut. Quaest. Conv. 712B, Praec. ger. reip. 803A etc. Cf. Diog. Laert. 8, 3 (of Epicharmus) φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἰατρολογεῖ.

τῶν ἀψύχων πολλά: Puzzling and without parallel. It may be a mere muddled reminiscence of Aristotle Poetics 1452a 34. But it may, as Borthwick has suggested, be connected with the various natural and artificial noises described as objects of poetic imitation by Plato, Rep. 396 B—C and Plut., Mor. 18C; cf. also Plato, Leg. 669C. The reference in these passages cannot be exclusively to the extravagances of the later dithyramb, since Theodorus, whose imitation of the squeaking of pulleys Plutarch mentions, is no doubt the tragic actor of that name, on whom cf. Wyttenbach ad loc. and RE 5A 1808, 47 — 1809, 25. But perhaps we have here only a confused reminiscence of Pollux 4, 130—131 (κεραυνοσκοπεῖον, βροντεῖον, etc.).

Section 3 continues the discussion of the structure of tragic plots begun in the previous section, and goes on to enumerate the stage devices used to further the development of the plot.

τὸ μέν ἐστι δέσις κτλ.: cf. Aristot. *AP*. 1455^b 24. But the development is quite different in Aristotle.

ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων μεταβολή seems without parallel in discussions of tragedy. With the manuscript reading it would be a definition of λύσις. Οἱ χρόνοι without qualification in the sense of "passage of time" is probably Byzantine.

ἐκκύκλημα: For the spelling ἐγκέκλημα cf. Schol. Soph. Ant. 1293 ἐγκέκλεισται ἡ γυνή when the corpse of Eurydice is disclosed.

αἴτημα δραματικόν: I at first obelised αἴτημα supposing it to be a mechanical corruption of μηχάνημα or some such word. But perhaps it can stand. The mathematical sense "postulate" is well attested. From there it is no great step to "convention". But I know of no exact parallel.

ἄγγελον καὶ ἐξάγγελον καὶ σκοπόν: These three occur together, although in a somewhat different context, in Tzetzes, Περὶ τραγ. ποι: 163—164, and, with κατάσκοπος for σκοπός, in Tzetzes, Prooem. in Aristoph. p. 23, 114 Kaibel.

διαμεμηχάνηται δὲ καί τινα κτλ.: The reference is to the so-called θεολογεῖον.

διχορία: The word occurs in Pollux 4, 107 and in the Hypothesis to Aristophanes' Lysistrata, and so is doubtless a technical term. Cf. Hesych. διχοριάζειν· ἐν δύο χοροῖς ᾄδειν.

Section 4 corresponds in detail to Tzetzes, Περὶ τραγ. ποι. 9—70. Tzetzes refers to Eukleides four times in these lines, in every case to dis-

agree with ihm. Thus it is clear that "Eukleides" cannot be the immediate common source of Tzetzes and the present text, but rather an authority adduced by that common source. Cf. what was said on ἐμμέλεια in Section 1.

τὸ μέν ἐστι μέτρον κτλ.: Cf. Tzetzes, Περὶ τραγ. ποι. 15—18, where the same examples are quoted. The difference is presumably one of length: cf. Schol. A ad Hephaestionem, p. 120, 1ff. Consbruch ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται στίχον τριακαιτριακοντάσημον εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰ εὑρεθείη περίοδος καλεῖται; id. p. 132, 8ff. φαμὲν οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν μέτρον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἑξάμετρον. But it is difficult to see why an iambic tetrameter should be a περίοδος and a trochaic a μέτρον. The classification here represented can have been made only by a metrician who scanned anapaestic and iambic tetrameters by feet, and not by dipodies, as does Hephaestion and all those dependent upon him. Neither Tzetzes nor the present text follows up the sub-division of tragic dialogue into μέτρον and περίοδος, which seems to have been superimposed on an earlier classification, in which λέξις was divided into πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδιον and ἔξοδος. What may underlie this curious sub-division is the distinction between spoken dialogue metres and recitative passages.

τῆς δὲ ᾠδῆς ἡ χορική: Tzetzes, Περὶ τραγ. ποι. 28 supplies the missing link, τὴν σκηνικὴν ἄτμητον ᾠδήν μοι νόει.

ἔστι δὲ ὁ κομμὸς κτλ.: This is all that remains of the definitions given of these kinds of choral ode by the common source of Tzetzes and the present text. Tzetzes, v. 66, has κομμὸς δὲ θρήνου πενθικώτερον πλέον. Clearly the definition of κομμός in the source was not that given by Aristot. *AP.* 1452^b 24.

Section 5. μικτῷ... διατόνων. διτόνων (or διτόνου) might form part of a description of the enharmonic genus, but only if associated with a reference to διέσεις. Nor is there any other reference to intervals in the sentence. Amend to διατόνων (or διατόνου), and we have mention of all three melodic genera. ἁρμονία is here, as commonly, a synonym for ἐναρμόνιον. ἑνικῆς can hardly mean "pure", and it is, one may suspect, a corruption of γένει τῆς. Tragedy is thus said to have employed the pure enharmonic and a mixed type of enharmonic and diatonic. On the mixture of genera see Aristoxenus, Harm. 7 and 44 Mb (100, 9ff. and 135, 6ff. Macran); Cleonides, Isag. harm. 189, 15ff. P. Hibeh I 13, ll. 19ff. implies that the tragedians did not employ the diatonic, but only the enharmonic. Perhaps the sophist exaggerated; perhaps the diatonic was only employed in combination with the enharmonic.

χρώματι δὲ ... Εὐριπίδου: The statement of Plutarch, mus. 20, 1137e (§187 W.—R.) that tragedy οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον employs the chromatic genus is, assuming a source not anterior to Aristoxenus, in conflict with Quaest. conv. III 1, which states that Agathon, in his Mysians, was the

first to introduce the chromatic into tragedy. It is inherently likely that this was done by both Agathon and Euripides, chromatic elements being a feature of the "new music" which they cultivated, but we have no other evidence as regards Euripides. It may be observed that Plut., mus. l.c. (§ 190) cites Aeschylus and Phrynichus as tragedians who refrained from the chromatic. So far as the notation goes, the melody to Eur., *Or.* 338ff. (P. Rainer G 2315) could be chromatic.

τῶν δὲ τόνων... τοὺς οἴκτους: The πλείστοις of the MS. can perhaps stand. For the employment of Dorian and Mixolydian in tragedy cf. Plut., mus. 16, 1136 e—d (§§ 153ff.), where they are characterised on similar lines to our passage. For the Dorian as σεμνόν cf. also op. cit. 17, 1136f. (§ 164, with Reinach's note): for the threnodic character of the Mixolydian, cf. e.g. Plato, Rep. 398d; Aristotle, Pol. VIII 5, 1340b 1. For the use of the Mixolydian in tragedy cf. also Arist., Probl. XIX, 48 (after the Gaza version) and specifically by Euripides cf. Plut., de aud. 15, 46b.

κέχρηται δὲ... Λυδιστί: A complex problem. Aristotle speaks of (unspecified) ἀνειμέναι ἁρμονίαι at Pol. VIII 5, 1340b 2; 7, 1342b 22 (cf. IV 3, 1290a 28). The former passage is clearly related to Plato, Rep. 398e: τίνες οὖν μαλακαί τε καὶ συμποτικαὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν; ἰαστί, ἦ δ' ὅς, καὶ λυδιστὶ αἵτινες (or αὖ τινες) χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται. The term ἐπανειμένη λυδιστί (perhaps to be restored here) is found in Plut., mus. 16, 1136e (§ 157), in association with ἡ Ἰάς. The general context seems closely related to the Republic passage, but the interpretation of § 157 is vexed. There is no reference to tragedy and some general improbability that sympotic harmoniai were there employed. In Plut., mus. 17, 1137a (§ 163), however, we read: καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λυδίου δ' οὐκ ἠγνόει [sc. Plato] καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος, ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὅτι ἡ τραγῳδία ταύτῃ τῇ μελοποιίᾳ κέχρηται. To which we can add Athen. XIV 625b: διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ προσφιλὴς ἡ ἁρμονία [sc. ἡ ἰαστί]. But the character there ascribed to the harmonia is far from "soft" and sympotic. If the tragedy did not use the Ionian qua ἀνειμένη, doubt may be thrown upon Λυδίου in Plut. mus. § 163, where Αἰολίου has been suggested with some plausibility (cf. Reinach's note). Our passage seems to be related to Plut., mus § 157 and § 163 (read as in our MSS.), but, though the treatise was much copied in late Byzantium, it is more likely perhaps to derive from "Plutarch"s source or sources.

τοῦ δὲ Φρυγίου ... πρῶτος: For Sophocles and the Phrygian cf. V. Soph. 23: φησὶ δὲ Ἀριστόξενος ὡς πρῶτος τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ποιητῶν τὴν Φρυγίαν μελοποιίαν εἰς τὰ ἴδια ᾄσματα παρέλαβε καὶ τοῦ διθυραμβικοῦ τρόπου κατέμιξεν. (For τὰ ἴδια ᾄσματα cf. Suidas s.v. χιάζειν.) There is no parallel to the statement that Sophocles employed the Lydian. What kind of Lydian? The "soft' and sympotic variety (v. supra)? Or the Lydian (= συντονολυδιστί) which was a threnodic

harmonia akin to the Mixolydian (cf. Plut. mus. 15, 1136c, §§ 148—150)? Cratinus ap. Athen. XIV 638f. (fr. 256 K) may imply an instance of "soft" Lydian tragedy, but text and interpretation are obscure (cf. *R.E.* VII 2, s.v. Gnesippos).

κέχρηται ... διθυραμβικώτερον: The subject of κέχρηται must be tragedy, not Sophocles. The point is perhaps that, when tragedy used the Phrygian, it did so in dithyrambic contexts. There may be an implied reference to the different character ascribed to the Phrygian by Plato, Rep. 399a—c (contr. Arist., Pol. VIII 7, 1342b 1ff.). Dr. Borthwick calls attention to schol. Aristophanes, Thesm. 121 (in the parody of Agathon): τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἁρμονίᾳ ἡρμοσμένα.

ὁ δὲ Ὑποφρύγιος ... τὸν Ὑποφρύγιον: The statement that Agathon introduced the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian into tragedy is new. It is stated in Arist., Probl. XIX 48 (a long discussion) that their use was confined to the actors. The Hypophrygian is characterised as πρακτικόν, the Hypodorian as μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ στάσιμον (διὸ καὶ κιθαρῳδικωτάτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν). ταῦτα δ' ἄμφω χορῷ μὲν ἀνάρμοστα, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς οἰκειότερα. The reference in our passage to the dithyramb is corrupt. If it was stated that these harmoniai were used infrequently as being more appropriate to the dithyramb, it is doubtless not the orgiastic dithyramb (associated with the Phrygian) which is in question, but the dithyramb as a vehicle for heroic narrative. Cf. Arist., Probl. l.c.: ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρώων μιμηταί. See also Arist., Probl. XIX 15 and 30.

ὅ γε μὴν Λύδιος ... ἐστι: [Read τοῦ κιθαρῳδικοῦ τρόπου with Borthwick? Cf. lines 14 and 34. The slightly easier correction.] For Λυδίου we should perhaps read Αἰολίου (a harmonia which has not yet been mentioned). In Arist., Probl. XIX 48 (v. supra) the Hypodorian is described as κιθαρῳδικωτάτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν: and in Athen. XIV 625a the Hypodorian is equated with Aeolian. The origins of κιθαρῳδία were especially associated with the Aeolic island of Lesbos. Cf. Plut., mus. 6, 1133c (§ 71), on the origin of the name Ἀσιάς for a type of cithara (though, as Borthwick points out, the name is also associated with Lydia in schol. Ap. Rhod. II 779 and Et. Mag. s.v. Ἀσιᾶτις). For the same reasons Westphal made the same correction in Proclus, Chrest. 245, where it is stated that the citharodic nomos was composed τῷ συστήματι τῷ τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν Λυδίῳ. [See also above on Plut., mus. § 163.]

συστήμασι δὲ ... ἐχρήσατο: [Read δὲ or δὲ πρῶτος?] πολυχορδία was a mark of the 'new music', cf. the polemic of Plato, Rep. 399c—d, but its association with Euripides is new. "Note that Kranz' (Stasimon, 228) associates Euripides' "new style" with the Troades (cf. line 511), which came out the year after Agathon's first victory" (Borthwick).

ἀνάτρητος: At first sight, since the new music was characterised by πολυχορδία and the aulos was associated with a wide range of notes (cf. e.g. Plut., mus. 29, 1141c. §§ 293—4; Plato, Rep. 399c—d), it is tempting to refer the term to the pierced holes of the instrument. (Cf. πάντρητος, πολύτρητος, ὑποτρητός, παρατρητός.) A much more attractive explanation has, however, been put forward by Dr Borthwick. At Aristophanes, Thesmoph. 100, Mnesilochus, hearing the music to Agathon, asks: μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς, ἤ τί διαμινύρεται; Pherecrates, ap. Plut., mus. 30, 1142a (§ 313) (fr. 145 K), speaks of Timotheus as introducing ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκίας. (Cf. also Anth. Pal. XI 78.) "The expression", writes Rogers on the Thesm. passage, "is intended to signify both the finikin and the intricate character of the notes, by comparing them to the tiny and innumerable galleries in an ant-hill." Ant-hills are described by Aelian, *H. A.* 6, 43 and by Plutarch, Mor. 968a—b. It is remarkable that the latter passage includes in the description, along with other terms also used metaphorically (e.g. by Pherecrates) to describe the "new music", the word ἀνατρήσεις. ἀνάτρητος, then, in our passage, will mean (literally) "bored through and through" and will indicate the "ant-hill" style of melody, associated with Agathon, with Timotheus, and (on this evidence) with Euripides. The resurrection of this term is one of the most interesting features of our fragment.

πολυχρούστερος: Doubtless to be preferred to the commoner πολυχούσ-. In πολυειδέστερος ... καὶ πολυχρούστερος it may be possible to see a reference to εἴδη (in the later musical sense of scale, approximating to harmonia) and to χρόαι (i.e. sub-species of the melodic genera).

βακχείοις ... προκελευσματικῷ: It is not clear why this group of metres is selected for mention nor whether they are προσήκοντες or not. As stated here, "the proceleusmatic ... is rare in Euripides" (A. M. Dale Lyric metres of Greek drama, 59, n. 3). Ionic a minore is not rare (examples in Dale, op. cit. 118ff.), but not particularly characteristic. What is meant by βακχείοις ἁπλοῖς τε καὶ διπλοῖς? To the metrici a bacchius was: ⏑ — —, which we find in Or. 1437ff. (and in other examples given by Dale, op. cit. 100, n. 1). A "double" bacchius in this case can only mean a dimeter, but bacchii are also found in threes and fours. It is possible, however, that the term is used in the sense given to it by the rhythmici. In the Aristoxenian fragment p. Oxy. 9 βακχεῖος seems to mean: — ⏑ ⏑ —. Aristides Quintilianus (I, ch. 16, 37 Mb, 25, 7ff. J) gives two forms of βακχεῖος, treated as a compound foot κατὰ συζυγίαν in the ἰαμβικὸν γενός ⏑ — — ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ —. Cf. ch. 17, 39—40 Mb, 26, 23—26 J; schol. Heph. 303, 2 and 5 C. Again, why "simple" and "double"? It may only confuse the issue to point out that the term ἁπλοῦς βακχεῖος occurs twice in Ar. Quint. I 16 in the nomenclature of the twelve compound feet κατὰ περίοδον (discussed at length by

B. Gentili, La metrica dei Greci); and that in the adaptation of Martianus Capella, IX 976, ἁπλοῦς has become duplex! Text and interpretation of both passages are debated.

Section 6. The place of tragic λέξις. The ultimate source is probably Plato, Rep. 398d τήν γε ἁρμονίαν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ τῷ λόγῳ.

ἐπιδέξιον: 'clever' or 'successful, hitting the mark'? Probably the latter, for which cf. Polyb. 32, 25, etc.

ἐνδινεύεσθαι: if right, is used here of extravagant, showy style by extension from its common meaning of the rhythmical or circular movement of dancers and tumblers (on which cf. A.S.F. Gow ad Theocr. 15.82, where the relevant passages are cited). I can quote no parallel.

Section 7. The subject-matter of this section, the structure of choral odes, is that of Hephaestion's De poematibus. And there is much in the treatment that is common to the two texts. Hephaestion's work survives in two recensions, both much abbreviated and interpolated.[4] The question is whether the present text is based upon one or other of these recensions, or whether it goes back to an earlier and fuller recension of Hephaestion.

στροφή ⟨ἡ⟩ καὶ περίοδος καὶ τὸ ἀντίστροφον: περίοδος is a most ambiguous term (cf. Consbruch, op. cit. 34—36, W. J. Koster, Traité de métrique grecque, 16, 4.3) in metrical contexts. Here it probably means, as the A Scholia on Hephaestion, p. 169 Consbruch have it ἡ ἐκ διαφόρων κώλων περικοπή. For στροφὴ ἡ καὶ περίοδος cf. Dion. Hal., De vi dic. Demosth. 50 κατὰ περίοδον, ἣν καλοῦσιν οἱ μουσικοὶ στροφήν.

μακρά: of non-antistrophic odes, both choral and ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, is not a term used by Hephaestion. The only parallel which I can find is Aristot., Probl. 19, 15 διὰ τί οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐκ ἐν ἀντιστρόφοις ἐποιοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ᾠδαὶ αἱ χορικαί; ἢ ὅτι οἱ μὲν νόμοι ἀγωνιστῶν ἦσαν, ὧν ἤδη μιμεῖσθαι δυναμένων καὶ διατείνεσθαι ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐγίνετο μακρὰ καὶ πολυειδής. There is clearly a connection between this passage and the Byzantine text, but what kind of connection is not clear. τῶν ἀντιστρόφων κτλ.: This passage corresponds to para, 7—8 of the first recension of Hephaestion's De poematibus (p. 60—61 C.) to para. IV of the second (pp. 66—67 C), to Isaac Tzetzes, De metris pindaricis p. 17, 5—15 Drachmann: it omits the categories of περιῳδικά and παλινῳδικά. The following passage on change of structure has no parallel in the surviving recensions of Hephaestion or in Tzetzes, though the subject must have been dealt with by Hephaestion in connection with the

[4] On the relation between the two recensions, which are found in M. Consbruch's edition of Hephaestion, pp. 58—62 and 62—73 respectively, cf. M. Consbruch, *De veterum* περὶ ποιήματος *doctrina*, Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen V 3, 1890, 29—52.

structure of choral odes. It seems therefore likely that we have here a fragment of Hephaestion independent of the two surviving recensions of the De poematibus.

Section 8. τὸ δὲ ἀναπαιστικὸν τετράμετρον παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ μόνον: There is no trace of this information in Hephaestion's Encheiridion or in either of the bodies of Scholia upon it, or in Trichas. It may be due to a muddle by some compiler: in the Suda Phrynichus — the name probably covers a conflation of the tragedian and the comic poet — is called εὑρέτης τοῦ τετραμέτρου, evidently the trochaic tetrameter; and Trichas (p. 395, 32 C) attributes to him a taste for catalectic ionic a minore tetrameters, cf. also Mar. Vict., GL VI 1, 95. But neither of these passages would account for the attribution of anapaestic tetrameters to Phrynichus only. As this metre is common enough in comedy, the statement could only be made by someone who distinguished between the two Phrynichi, i.e. a writer of respectable antiquity. A fuller version of Hephaestion seems a likely source. Borthwick points out that the epithet τῷ παλαιῷ may originally have distinguished the tragedian from the later comic poet.

Section 9. συντασσόμενα: "classified by the metricians along with". This passage corresponds loosely with Hephaestion, De poem., second recension, para. VII, dealing with ἐφύμνια, ἐπῳδαί and προῳδαί, and ἐπιφθεγματικά. We seem to have in the present passage the remains of an excerpt from a fuller recension of Hephaestion, of which there is a trace, as we shall see, in Eustathios.

ἔστι δὲ τά μεσαύλια κτλ.: Cf. Eustathios *in Il.*, p. 862, 19 ἦν δέ, φασι, καὶ μεσαύλιον κροῦμά τι μεταξὺ τῆς αὐλῆς αὐλούμενον. So the text appears in Stallbaum's edition, which is a mere reprint of the editio princeps, Rome, 1542. τῆς αὐλῆς is nonsense, and is probably a slip of copyist or compositor for τῆς ᾠδῆς or τῶν μελῶν or the like. It would be interesting to check the reading of cod. Laur. gr. 59, 2—3, Eustathios' autograph manuscript, in this passage. Cf. also Aristides Quint., p. 26, τὰ ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς μεσαυλικά.

τῶν δὲ ἐπιφθεγμάτων κτλ.: Cf. Ath. 15, 696f. τὸ ἰὴ παιὰν ἐπίφθεγμα. Hephaestion, De poem., VII 3 calls these interjections ἐπιφθεγματικά, though it is noteworthy that the A Scholia (p. 174, 13 C) call them ἐπιφθέγματα. There is no trace in the surviving text of Hephaestion of the statement that they are commoner in satyr-plays, a statement which could only be made by someone with access to satyr-plays.

ἀναβόημα: This word seems unattested as a technical term, and indeed scarcely attested as a word. But the passage must come from a source of considerable antiquity, from the acquaintance which it shows with the

conditions of stage performance. It may refer to some kind of cry extra metrum.

καταλογῆς: Can this mean 'recitative'? The usual term is παρακαταλογή (cf. the passages quoted by Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 154—155). καταλογή is glossed by Hesychios as τὸ τὰ ᾄσματα μὴ ὑπὸ μέλη λέγειν, (which appears to mean spoken rendering of lyric passages) and appears in an inscription from Larissa of the first century B.C. or A.D. (I G 9 (2) 531, 12), but this last, *pace* Liddell-Scott-Jones, is of doubtful interpretation.

ἔστι δὲ ὅτε οἱ τραγικοὶ κτλ.: The structure of the passage suggests that this is meant as a definition or description of ἀνάπαιστον ἔρρυθμον, a term not otherwise attested and not improbably corrupt, but apparently referring to non-melic anapaestic passages delivered by the Koryphaios or by an actor particularly during the entry of the chorus and to mark the entry of a new character upon the stage.

χορικὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς: is most puzzling. Professor T. B. L. Webster suggests a reference to the subsidiary choruses of Euripides' Alexandros, Antiope, etc.

ἀγγέλων ὅλα πρόσωπα: There are no anapaestic messengers' speeches in surviving tragedy, though of course the chorus or another character may announce the arrival of a messenger or herald in anapaests, e.g. Eur. Tro. 230ff., 1118ff. Winnington-Ingram draws my attention to a possible messengers' speech in anapaests in the Oslo musical papyrus, cf. Symb. Osl. 31 (1955), 1—87.

ἐν τοῖς παρόδοις προτάττουσιν αὐτὰ τῶν μελῶν: E.g. Aesch., Suppl. 1—39, Pers. 1—64, Agam. 40—103, Soph., Aj. 134—171.

Section 10. This corresponds to Hephaestion, Περὶ σημείων 6 (p. 75, 1—4C), which, however, lists only three uses of the κορωνίς in drama: when the actors leave, when the chorus leaves, and when there is a change of scene. Heliodorus' use of the κορωνίς can be reconstructed from his colometry of Aristophanes (ed. Thiemann ap. Hense, Heliodorische Untersuchungen, 35—71). Why the author of our treatise or his exemplar should have selected the κορωνίς for special attention and neglected the other σημεῖα is not clear. As will be seen in a moment, the excerption is very careless in the concluding part of the treatise.

τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ἔγκειται κτλ.: I take this to be a continuation of the discussion of colometric signs, and to refer to some such arrangement as the Heliodorean εἴσθεσις, ἔκθεσις, ἐπείσθεσις etc., and to treat specifically of the distinction in manuscripts between choral odes and melic passages delivered by actors. But the excerption has been too ruthless and undiscriminating for the precise sense of this passage to be evident, at least to me.

Section 11. Tragic dancing.

The words ἐπειθ' ὅτι with which the next sentence opens mark a further excerpt from the same source. But this is very careless excerption indeed.

ἡ προσαγορευομένη ἐμμέλεια κτλ.: Cf. Aristoxenos, Περὶ τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως, frg. 104 Wehrli: ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος τῆς τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως ἡ καλουμένη ἐμμέλεια, καθάπερ τῆς σατυρικῆς ἡ καλουμένη σίκιννις, τῆς δὲ κωμικῆς ὁ καλούμενος κόρδαξ. The wording of our text is closer to the ipsissima verba of Aristoxenos than any of the numerous paraphrases and adaptations (on which cf. F. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles II, 82, and add to his references Eustathius *ad Il.* 1167, 19). But it would be dangerous to argue from this that it derives direct from Aristoxenos himself. However, since it contains additional information on the εἶδος of the tragic dance, it cannot be copied from the Anecdoton Bekkeri, the source of the Aristoxenos fragment.

σεμνὸν ἦν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές Cf. Ath. 14. 630e ἡ δὲ γυμνοπαιδικὴ παρεμφερής ἐστι τῇ τραγικῇ ὀρχήσει, ἥτις ἐμμέλεια καλεῖται, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ ὁρᾶται τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν. The source of this passage is almost certainly Aristoxenos.

Section 12. The musical instruments used in tragedy. On this section cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 163—165, where the relevant references will be found.

λύρᾳ ἐν τῷ Θαμύρᾳ: Cf. Ath. 1, 20f., Vita Sophoclis (Westermann, Biographoi 127, 26ff.). The compiler does not seem to have realised that in the cases he quotes the lyre or cithara — in Byzantine usage the terms are synonymous — were played by actors on the stage, and not used to accompany the chorus. Borthwick suggests that there may also be some misinterpretation of the implications of Aristoph., Ran. 1304.

I am glad to be able to offer this paper as a tribute to my friend George Thomson. Attic tragedy has always been at the centre of his interest. But his survey has ranged, across changing social formations, from the neolithic Eastern Mediterranean to Greece of the present day and it has often fallen upon the humble Byzantines. In the words of one of them, πληθυνθείησάν σου αἱ ἡμέραι ὡς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γένοιτο τὸ κράτος σου πολυχρόνιον.

XII

RECENTIORES NON DETERIORES

It has by now become a commonplace that readings first appearing in later Byzantine manuscripts may be not the interpolations of pedants but genuine tradition, derived from early manuscripts accessible to the scholars of the last centuries of the Byzantine empire. Pasquali[1] recognizes that a text may be transcribed from uncials into minuscule more than once. A. Dain[2] cites a number of possible examples of such double transliteration. At the same time recent studies of the history of particular Greek texts have frequently underlined the importance of the work of Byzantine scholars of the generation flourishing around 1300 in unearthing and making use of old manuscripts, whether uncial or minuscule.

It may be of interest, both to classical scholars and to Byzantinists to attempt to sum up what we know of editorial activities of this particular kind on the part of late Byzantine scholars, and of the possibility of gaining access to genuine ancient tradition offered by the conditions in which they worked. In this connection two main types of evidence are relevant. The first is what is known about the accessibility of ancient, and in particular uncial, manuscripts in the late Byzantine period and the use made of them by scholars. The second is provided by the history of the texts of classical authors in the same period, in so far as it can be reconstructed from surviving manuscripts. Neither can be treated exhaustively or definitively. Much of the correspondence of later Byzantine men of letters, from which we can often learn a great deal about their literary interests and activities, remains unpublished. A particularly likely source of information of this kind is the correspondence of Gregory of Cyprus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 28 March 1283 to June 1289, from which Treu cited a number of interesting passages in his edition of the *Letters* of Planudes.[3] A preliminary study of this correspondence made almost a quarter of a century ago has not yet been followed up by an edition.[4] Another source from which evidence of the first kind can sometimes be derived is the study of subscriptions and ownership notes in manuscripts. Much remains to be done in this field. As regards the second type of evidence, our ignorance of the history of most Greek texts, in particular prose texts, is still abysmal, despite the good work done by Professor Turyn in America and by Professor Dain and his pupils in France.

That a renaissance of classical studies took place in the last decades of the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th is a truism. The character of this renaissance, and the causes of its origin and decline have often been

studied in connection with this or that particular problem, but never, to the present writer's best knowledge, has a comprehensive survey of it been made.[5] We are concerned here, not to make such a survey, but to examine solely the question of the accessibility and use of early manuscripts.

The decades preceding and following 1300 were a period in which we might expect to find some considerable movement of manuscripts from other regions to Constantinople. For more than fifty years the political and cultural centre of the Byzantine world had been at Nicaea, in the heart of Asia Minor, where under the Lascarid emperors higher education was organized on the Constantinopolitan model. We hear of the establishment of libraries in the principal cities of the Empire by Theodorus II Lascarus in the mid-13th century (Theod. Skutariotes ap. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 7.525-536); and Nicephorus Blemmydes was sent by John III Vatatzes on an expedition πρὸς τὰ δυτικώτερα to search for manuscripts. It is likely that when Michael VIII recaptured Constantinople in 1261 books from Nicaea and elsewhere were brought to the capital. One can scarcely imagine men like Georgios Akropolites, appointed professor of philosophy - ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων - by Michael VIII, or Manuel-Maximos Holobolos, appointed head of the refounded Patriarchal Academy - ῥήτωρ τῶν ῥητόρων - in 1267, arriving in the city without their libraries. One book brought by Akropolites to Constantinople has recently been recognized.[6]

A little later, the gradual loss of most of Byzantine Asia Minor to the Turks is likely to have led to a fresh influx of books to Constantinople, as refugees from these regions brought their possessions with them. These might include the contents of monastic libraries. Maximus Planudes speaks of many of the books in the library of the Chora monastery as having been brought from elsewhere - πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ὁθενδήποτε μετηνέχθησαν αἱ βίβλοι (*ep.*67.69).[7] And shortly before 1294 he is concerned to get a copy of Ptolemy's *Harmonics* from Nymphaeum (*ep.*106). But it is not only from Byzantine Asia Minor that books will have reached Constantinople. Contact with the Arab world was close. The patriarch Germanos III (25 May 1265 - 14 Sept. 1266), the restorer of the Patriarchal Academy, had spent many years in the monasteries of Palestine. As an example of the treasures to be found there one need only mention the Jerusalem palimpsest of Euripides, originally from the monastery of St.John on the Jordan, and not palimpsested until the thirteenth century.[8] And contact with the Latin world, and in particular with Rome, was closer than before, partly as a result of Michael VIII's union of the churches. The subscription of cod. Paris gr.1115, a theological miscellany, shows it to have been copied in 1276 (whether at Rome or Constantinople is not clear, though the latter seems more probable), from a manuscript in the Papal library - itself dated in 759 - and placed in the Imperial library in the palace of Blachernae.[9] It was presumably not unique of its kind.

This concentration of books from remote areas in Constantinople is in some ways parallel to what went on in the earlier part of the ninth century when, for instance, we find the Iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian causing books to be brought from outlying monasteries to the capital.[10] Both these movements, by giving scholars access to old books, provided the conditions necessary for a revival of learning.

We hear a good deal about libraries, imperial, monastic and private in Constantinople.[11] It is difficult to form an idea of the contents of these libraries in the absence of inventories (the only inventories we possess are of provincial monasteries, such as those of St.John at Patmos, dated 1201, 1355 and

1382), but of their richness there can be no doubt. An interesting example of a private library is that of Nicephorus Moschopulos, Metropolitan of Crete and Proedros of Sparta, c.1300, uncle of the scholar Manuel Moschopulos. Eleven mules were required to transport it. Eight volumes belonging to it have been identified. They include an Odyssey (Cod. Cesen. Malatest. 27.2) as well as liturgical and theological books. And one of them is a manuscript of homilies of John Chrysostom written in 986 (Cod. Athon. Lavr. 451), a real collector's piece.[12] The great library of Theodorus Metochites was presented by him to the Chora monastery to which he returned after his dismissal in 1328, cf. Treu, *op. cit.* poem A. 1176ff.

τὰς μὲν ἐγὼν οὕτω κ' ἐνοχημωσάμην παντοίας
βίβλους κοινὸν ἄν' ἅπασιν ἀγαθόν,

126ff. ἤτοι τὰ μὲν ἐγὼν πάρ' τόνδε νόον ταμίευσα
τῇ μονῇ θησαυρίσματ' ὀνήϊσμα βίβλων ἐσθλά.

A more humble library is that of Theodoros Hyrtakenos, schoolmaster and protégé of Theodorus Metochites, whose son was a pupil at his school. He often mentions his library in his correspondence.[13] He had no Aeschylus, Euripides or Sophocles, but only the principal church fathers (*ep.*30, p.3). Yet he could arrange to send a manuscript of the Odyssey to Trebizond (*ep.*56, p.22). This can have been no ordinary manuscript, as Trebizond was a centre of learning at this time, and there can have been no difficulty in obtaining a text of Homer there.

The antiquarian taste to which these collections testify is paralleled by a growing interest in the ruins of ancient sites. Planudes describes in some detail the temple of Olympian Zeus built by Hadrian at Cyzicus (*ep.*55), the ruined church at nearby Artake (ibid.), the ancient remains near Priene, used as fortifications by the Turks, which he was inclined to identify either as the temple of Apollo at Branchidae or the tomb of Mausolos (*ep.*120), and eagerly awaited an account of the site of Troy from his pupil Merkourios (*ep.*69).[14]

Old manuscripts were restored by the scholars of this age. Planudes speaks of an old manuscript of Diophantos which he had restored and apparently rebound for Theodoros Muzalon - ἐπανήκεις νῦν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ῥυτίδων ἡβῶσα. τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὄψιν ἂν εἴποι τις τὴν παλαιὰν ἀποξυσάμενον λεβηρίδα, τὰ δ' ἐντός, οἵαν ἂν ἴδοιμεν οἰκίας ἐκ μακροῦ πεπονηκυίας ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνάστασιν (*ep.*67,33-36). Wendel's identification of the restored manuscript with Matrit.48 must remain doubtful, as this manuscript is dated by Iriarte in the 13th century. A somewhat later example of such restoration is that of the Vienna Dioscorides (Vindob. med. gr.1) written at Constantinople before 512 for Juliana Anicia, daughter of the western emperor Olybrius and on her mother's side great-granddaughter of Theodosius. It was rebound and repaired in 1405-6 by Joannes Chortasmenos, patriarchal notary and teacher at the Patriarchal Academy, later metropolitan of Selymbria, a man of letters and collector of manuscripts, who incidentally owned and annotated a copy of Triclinius' edition of Euripides (Vat. Urbin. gr.142) which was a direct copy of Triclinius' autograph manuscript.[15] Part of Chortasmenos' restoration consisted in copying in minuscule in the margin the faded uncial legends of the illumnations.[16]

It is noteworthy that both the Dioscorides and the manuscript from Rome written in 759 were uncial manuscripts. There are very few uncial manuscripts indeed of classical texts surviving to-day.[17] But it is likely that there were many more in 1300, and they would tend to survive in the outlying areas from which manuscripts

reached Constantinople about this time. Uncial manuscripts of Biblical and liturgical texts are still quite numerous, so a man of education in the 13th or 14th century would be familiar with uncial hands and able to read them easily. It may well be from an uncial exemplar that Georgios Bardanes, the future metropolitan of Corfu, copied the text of Nicander, ἐκ τοιούτου ἀντιγράφου, ὅπερ ἔοικεν εἶναι βιβλίον ἐσφραγισμένον πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν, οἶμαι, πᾶσι πλὴν αὐτοῦ.[18]

A scholar did not normally copy an old manuscript. He collated it with others. When Planudes wished to prepare a text of the *Arithmetic* of Diophantos, he borrowed manuscripts from others and excerpted from them readings which he thought superior to those of his own copy. One such manuscript was borrowed from Manuel Bryennios, the most learned mathematician of his time, to whom he writes: τὴν ὑμετέραν Διοφάντου βίβλον – ἀντιβαλεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ βουλόμεθα τὴν ἡμετέραν – ἐφ' ἡμερῶν ὅσων δή σοι βουλομένῳ τυγχάνει προθέσμια πέμψεις ἡμῖν (*ep*.33,7-9). The other was borrowed from a library through the good offices of Muzalon the Protovestiarios (*ep*.67.30ff.). Similarly, his text of Plutarch was based on several manuscripts. Demetrius Triclinius used a manuscript of Pindar similar to Q, a manuscript of the Planudean recension, copies of the editions of Moschopulos and Thomas Magister, and other manuscripts, in preparing his text of Pindar.[19] He had several manuscripts of Sophocles, and often refers in his commentary to their variant readings.[20] In the same way, he clearly had several copies of the annotated plays of Euripides, including possibly one of the old tradition represented by MC.[21] Turyn has suggested that he had the manuscript L of the unannotated plays in his possession and added many corrections and notes; that the manuscript may even have been prepared under his direction; and that he had access to the original from which L was copied, and corrected L from it (A. Turyn, *op.cit*.222-258). Nicephorus Gregoras evidently collated a number of manuscripts of the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy.[22] These examples could easily be multiplied.

It is clear then that late Byzantine scholars had opportunities to consult ancient manuscripts, including some written in uncials, that they availed themselves of these opportunities, and that they collated them with their own, modern copies of classical texts, but did not as a rule transcribe them in entirety. We may now turn to the second type of evidence mentioned at the outset, and examine the tradition of a number of texts to see if we can find signs of material attributable to very old exemplars, and in particular to uncial exemplars.

The Genevensis 44 of the Iliad comprises for the greater part of the poem scholia copied almost entirely from the Townleianus.[23] In book 21, however, though the text continues to be undistinguished, the scholia change their character and we get a corpus quite distinct from the A, B, and T scholia, though doubtless originating in the same 'Viermännerkommentar' of late antiquity, and containing much detailed Alexandrian comment. The most likely explanation is that these scholia were transcribed from a fragment of an old manuscript (Erbse, *op.cit*., 187 suggests a compilation of the 9th or 10th century parallel to A and B). If it was a manuscript containing text and marginal commentary, the text was evidently not thought worth copying. But the exemplar which we postulate may, of course, have contained no text, but only a ὑπόμνημα.[24] The Genevensis 44 was dated by Omont in the 13th century, by Briquet late 13th or early 14th century, although neither took adequate account of the different hands.[25] It contains subscriptions probably copied when parts of the manuscript were recopied at a late date, of Manuel Moschopulos and of Theodoros Meliteniotes, Megas Sakellarios and διδάσκαλος

τῶν διδασκάλων in the middle of the 14th century, and a distinguished mathematician and scholar.[26] It seems most likely that the manuscript was originally written for Moschopulos and later supplemented by Meliteniotes, whose hand Nicole recognizes in many passages.[27] If this is so, it originated in precisely those circles around Maximus Planudes in which the search for old books and their systematic collation is known to have been practised. It has recently been shown that the copyist of the bulk of the scholia to books other than 21 had before him at least three exemplars, one of which contained the D scholia in a fuller form than the Venetus A.[28]

The non-select plays of Euripides are another interesting case. With one exception, of which we shall speak, there is no sign of acquaintance with these plays, other than what could be obtained from grammatical or gnomological sources, from late antiquity until the 14th century. The use of the Bacchae in the Christus Patiens is irrelevant, since this was originally one of the select plays. Then two manuscripts, L (Laur.32.2) and P (Vat. Pal.287) turn up. One of the scribes of L was one Nikolaos Triklines, possibly a relation of Demetrios Triclinius; and Turyn claims to recognize throughout the manuscript corrections and notes in the hand of Triclinius. Triclinius seems to have worked mainly in Thessalonica. The only earlier Byzantine writer showing direct acquaintance with the non-select plays is Eustathios,[29] who was from 1175 till 1192 metropolitan of Thessalonica. It has been suggested with some plausibility that he took a manuscript containing the non-select plays with him from Constantinople, where he wrote his commentaries upon Homer, Pindar and Dionysios, to Thessalonica, where it was found and used by Triclinius 150 years later. Whether this Eustathio-Triclinian exemplar was an old manuscript, perhaps in uncials, or a copy of one made in the late 12th century, or whether what Triclinius used was not Eustathios' manuscript but a copy made from it, we cannot tell. At any rate it seems to represent a portion, perhaps one volume out of several, of an alphabetically arranged edition of Euripides' plays which survived into Byzantine times independently of the select plays, and which was not transliterated into minuscule until the 12th century at the earliest.[30] And once again it seems to be connected with scholarly circles.

The text of Pindar in cod. Ambros. C 222 inf.(containing Ol.1-12) is from the second Olympian onwards of a unique character both in text and scholia, preserving many good readings unknown elsewhere. The errors which it shows are rarely due to misreading of a minuscule hand, but often to misreading of uncials.[31] Editors of Pindar have long realized that the Ambrosian recension goes back to a separate sub-archetype from the rest of the tradition. Irigoin plausibly suggests that it is a copy, at very few removes indeed, of a mutilated uncial manuscript which happened to survive into late Byzantine times, when, as he puts it, 'it appears that. . .the renewal of literary study was accompanied by a search for ancient manuscripts. Men began to seek out in libraries old manuscripts in uncials, codices and perhaps even rolls, often damaged, which had hitherto been neglected in favour of more recent manuscripts. These old exemplars were then copied, i.e. transliterated'. (Irigoin, *op.cit*.246). The Ambrosian manuscript is dated by Turyn in the early 14th century; Schroeder and others dated it in the 13th, and Irigoin is inclined to put it about 1280. He points out (*op.cit*. 240) the remarkable resemblance between the hand of the Ambrosian manuscript, and that of Laur. 32.16, a miscellany of poetic texts prepared for and annotated by Maximus Planudes. If the two are in fact written by the same person, we find ourselves once again in a milieu known to have been interested in collating old witnesses

to texts. The Ambrosian manuscript contains certain introductory matter, such as a Vita and a collection of Apophthegmata, not found in other manuscripts of Pindar. These are unlikely to come from the same source as Ol.2-12, since they are separated from it by Ol.1. Both the Vita and the Apophthegmata seem to have been known to Eustathius (Irigoin, *op.cit.* 241-3). So the compiler of Ambros. C 222 inf. or its immediate exemplar - be he Planudes or someone else - seems to have filled up the gap at the beginning of his ancient manuscript from another manuscript of unusual character, connected with scholarly circles of the third quarter of the twelfth century.

The same Ambros. C 222 inf. also contains a text of Theocritus of unusual character. Gallavotti, arguing from the frequency of errors due to misreading of uncials, e.g.15.68 δωμὰ for ἁμῶν, epigr.11.4 ἀλιμώνως for δαιμονίως suggests that the Ambrosian recension goes back to a transliteration made in the ninth or tenth century.[32] But from what we have seen of the place of this manuscript in the tradition of Pindar, the peculiar character of its Theocritus text seems as likely to be the result of the discovery and collation of an uncial manuscript of the Bucolici in the thirteenth century. An interesting problem is presented by the last part of the Theocritean corpus, poems XIX-XXX. These are preserved only in a group of manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, one of which was used by Demetrius Triclinius. There is little trace of knowledge of these poems by Byzantine writers. Two of them turn up in the Palatine Anthology, in an inferior text; a quatrain from a third is used as a page-filler in a miscellaneous manuscript of the tenth century; a few lines from one poem are cited by Stobaeus. All this is consistent with the hypothesis that these passages were incorporated in anthologies at an early date. Wilamowitz suggested that the recension of the Bucolici containing the later poems - which he calls Φ - survived into late Byzantine times in an uncial manuscript. 'Evidently what happened was this', he writes, 'A very badly used copy of an old book, written in a style we now seldom meet, was found in the late Byzantine period and transcribed into the writing of the time'.[33] Gallavotti, however, treats Wilamowitz's Φ recension as part of his Laurentian family,[34] so in this matter we must suspend judgment.

The tradition of the text of Aratus has only recently been studied with thoroughness. A manuscript written in Crete in the late fifteenth century (Scorialensis Σ III 3)[35] has been found to contain a large number of individual readings. The text of Apollonius Rhodius in the same manuscript appears to be copied directly or indirectly from an exemplar of 1280-1300, and the Aratus text may well come from the same source. At any rate, it appears to result from the collation of a manuscript closely akin to Marcianus 476 and 'another much older copy, of a very different type, which had just been discovered'.[36] Maximus Planudes edited and commented upon the Phaenomena of Aratus. His edition has to be reconstructed from a number of surviving manuscripts. It shows a number of readings in common with the Escurial manuscript. Martin has argued that he too had access, via an old codex, to the divergent tradition represented in that manuscript.[37] Be that as it may, it seems that some late Byzantine scholar or scholars collated an old copy of Aratus, possibly in uncials, containing a text of a different kind from that current since the first transliteration in the ninth or tenth century.

Two manuscripts of the Argonautika of Apollonius Rhodius, Laur.32.16 of 1281, and Guelferbytanus Aug.2996, S.XIII/XIV, show many readings distinct from all the rest of the tradition. Fränkel, in his discussion of the history of the text of Apollonius, assumes that all the surviving manuscripts are descended from an archetype with variants.[38] This may well be so. But if it is, the peculiar readings

of the two manuscripts under discussion imply a fresh reference to the archetype. When one bears in mind that one of these, Laur.32.16, was prepared for and annotated in 1281 by Maximus Planudes, such a proceeding seems quite possible. An equally likely explanation, however, is that Planudes or someone in his circle found an old manuscript, possibly in uncials, representing a different tradition, and collated it with his own copy.

This Planudean manuscript, Laur.32.16,[39] contains a number of other poetic texts as well as the Argonautika. One of these is the Kynegetika of Oppian. The text which it offers of this poem - one closely similar to but superior to that of another manuscript of almost the same date, Laur.31.3, apparently written in 1286 - is in many respects distinct from that of the rest of the tradition and often better than it.[40] Only closer study of the textual tradition of Oppian will show whether we have here another instance of collation of an ancient and divergent exemplar or not. But the possibility remains open. The same manuscript is our sole authority for the text of the Dionysiaka of Nonnos,[41] apart from some fragments in a Berlin papyrus of the seventh century. There is little sign of acquaintance with Nonnos among earlier Byzantine writers. Eustathios quotes five passages without naming the author, and the Etymologicum Magnum mentions the work once. Planudes' exemplar must have been a great rarity, and may have been very old. The number of lines which he marks as his own interpolations suggests that it was damaged. Though, of course, we have no basis for comparison, we must recognize the possibility that Planudes found the Dionysiaka in an uncial manuscript, and made the first and only transliteration into minuscule at the end of the thirteenth century.

Thus far we have been dealing with poetic texts. Similar features may be observed in the tradition of certain prose texts, though here it is usually impossible to link them with any particular scholar.

A 16th century manuscript (Vindob.IV.37) of the Kynegetikos attributed to Xenophon contains both a different redaction of the proem from that of the other manuscripts, and a number of individual readings. It is itself evidently copied from an exemplar in minuscule, as is shown by typical errors.[42] But where did this minuscule exemplar get its divergent text from? Pasquali suggests that 'in the 12th or 13th century there reappeared in the Orient a codex of the *Kynegetikos* superior to all those known hitherto or thereafter: one or more Byzantine scholars copied it, probably on paper, trying to save as much as time and space as possible'.[43] Probably only the variant proem was copied in entirety from the new manuscript, and elsewhere readings from it were adopted into a normal text.

The text of most of the speeches of Lysias depends entirely upon a twelfth century manuscript, Palatinus Heidelbergensis 88. The first speech in the corpus, however, the *De Caede Eratosthenis*, also survives in a number of manuscripts of the thirteenth century or later which preserve a text different from and often superior to that of the Palatine manuscript.[44] It looks as though here we have a trace of a manuscript independent of the Palatinus and containing only the beginning of the corpus. Was it a fragment of an old uncial manuscript of Lysias unearthed by some scholar of the late thirteenth century?

Vindobon. suppl. phil. gr. 39 (F) of Plato, of the thirteenth rather than the fourteenth century, was recognized by Burnet, followed by Alline and Deneke,[45] to be derived at very few removes if any from an uncial exemplar representing a different form of the text from that in all other manuscripts. The manuscript

has many lacunae, left blank by the original copyist, which suggests that the uncia exemplar was damaged. E. R. Dodds' recent collation of the manuscript from photographs amply confirms the supposition of Burnet, Alline, and Deneke. He points out, incidentally, that F agrees in several passages with two second century A.D. papyri of the Gorgias (*P.S.I.*119 and 1200).[46] And he suggests, on the basis of two quotations in the Ecloga Vocum Atticarum, that Thomas Magister was acquainted with the F text of the Gorgias.[47] This is an interesting suggestion, which would point to the circles in which the uncial exemplar of F was transcribed. But as Dodds recognizes, we should have to see whether the readings in question turn up in the indirect tradition of Plato, with which F not infrequently agrees, before crediting Thomas with acquaintance with F.

The manuscript H of Thucydides (Paris.1734, s.XIV) was recognized by Poppo in 1825 to have, like B (Vat.126, s.XI), readings distinct from the whole of the rest of the tradition in books VII and VIII (actually from VI, 92.5 on). Scholars tended to assume that H was a descendant of B and to accord it little importance. B. Hemmerdinger[48] has recently demonstrated:-

(a) that H contains variants absent from B.

(b) that it contains a number of unique and good readings *before* the break in B.

He argues that H is an indirect copy of B, embodying readings from an old manuscript showing an independent tradition, perhaps the very exemplar from which H was copied in the eleventh century. E. G. Turner[49] has pointed out that a wrong reading of a third century B.C. papyrus (P.Hamburg 163) turns up later in H and in H alone. This is a striking confirmation of the soundness of Hemmerdinger's argumentation.

The text of Ps.-Longinus *De Sublimitate* stems entirely from a tenth century manuscript, Paris gr. 2036 (P). However, a fifteenth century manuscript (Paris gr. 985) contains a short passage in chapter 2 which is not in P. At the corresponding place in P there is a lacuna of two leaves. Paris gr. 985 cannot be descended from a copy of P made before the two leaves were lost, as the passage in question is much too short, and in any case does not link up with the following text. Did some late Byzantine scholar find an old manuscript or fragment of a manuscript of the De Sublimitate, and, collating it with his own text, notice the supplementary passage and copy it? The latest editor, Rostagni, leaves the matter open, merely saying 'utcumque de additis illis uerbis iudicandum erit'.[50] We must, however, recognize the possibility.

Finally, a certain recension of the letters of Synesios occurs both alone and accompanied by glosses and scholia associated with Manuel Moschopulos and possibly with Maximus Planudes. A typical specimen of the recension is Vat. gr. 113, fol. 307-374. Some of the characteristic readings of this recension, e.g. ep.105 p. 705.38 δῆμον for λήμην look like *misreadings* of an uncial exemplar.[51] Did someone in Planudes' circle find an uncial manuscript or fragment of a manuscript of these letters, so much appreciated by the Byzantines, and collate it with his own copy? Here again we can only keep an open mind at present.

What emerges from the above examples is that it was not an exception for a thirteenth or fourteenth century scholar to have access to early tradition, it was the rule. Where a man of the calibre of Planudes or Triclinius is known to have been associated with a particular manuscript, its individual readings cannot be assumed a priori to be conjectures. Similarly, where a number of examples of

error due to the misreading of uncial script[52] not occurring elsewhere in the tradition are found, we can presume that an old exemplar was discovered and collated by the copyist of the manuscript or of one of its ancestors. But even in the absence of these criteria, an editor must always be alert to the possibility of such access to old tradition. The more individual good readings there are in a thirteenth or fourteenth century manuscript, the more probable is it that they are not all due to conjecture. We can now more readily recognize the types of conjecture of which scholars of this period were capable. Whatever falls outside of these categories may well be sound tradition.

Each reader will be able to supplement or correct these lines from his own knowledge and experience. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that this will effect a radical change in the overall picture. It is this overall picture of the way in which the later Byzantines regarded and made use of manuscripts which the present writer hopes may be of some use to editors, in suggesting both what to look for and what not to look for. Much work remains to be done in the field of textual history, work which until the advent of the microfilm was impossible. Prose writers are almost untouched. We still await a history of the text of Homer. And Christian writings which were not used liturgically often have a tradition very similar to that of the pagan classics.

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NOTES

1 G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 1934, [2]1952, 15-16.

2 A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 1949, 115ff.

3 M. Treu, *Maximi Monachi Planudis epistulae*, Breslau 1890, pp.197,241,242,246,261.

4 W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre*, Brussels-Rome, 1937.

5 A. Tuilier's interesting paper 'Recherches sur les origines de la renaissance byzantine au XIIIe siecle', *Bull. de l'Assoc. Budé* 1955. 3.71-76 is too short to do more than touch on some aspects of the subject.

6 cf. S. Kougeas, *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I.ii (1949) 61-74.

7 For the identification of the monastery cf. C. Wendel, Planudea, *B.Z.* 40 (1940) 406-410).

8 cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη I 109.

9 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Κιννάμου, τελειωθὲν σὺν θεῷ μηνὶ μαρτίῳ ιδ΄, ἰνδ. δ΄, ἡμέρᾳ ἑβδόμῃ, ἔτους ϛψπδ΄, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ πιστοτάτων καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστεμμένων μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν τοῦ τε κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ Δούκα Ἀγγέλου Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ νέου Κωνσταντίνου, καὶ Θεοδώρας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης Αὐγούστης, καὶ τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, καὶ Ἄννης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης Αὐγούστης, καὶ ἐναπετέθη ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ· μετεγράφη δὲ ἀπὸ βιβλίου εὑρεθέντος ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, ὅπερ βιβλίον ἐγράφη καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἔτει ϛοξζ΄, ὡς ἀριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ τοιούτου βιβλίου ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος ιζ΄ πρὸς τοὺς πεντακοσίους.
cf. H. Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés des IXe au XIVe siècles*, 13.

10 *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio 1028;* cf. also B. Hemmerdinger, *Histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955, 33-35.

11 For the imperial library in 1276 cf. the subscription to cod. Paris gr. 1115, quoted above; the last definite mention of the library is by Constantine Lascaris, who was aged nineteen at the time of the capture of Constantinople, cf. Migne, *P.G.* 161, 918. For the library of the Chora monastery cf. Planudes, *ep.*67, Theodoros Metochites ap. R. Guilland, Les poesies inedites de Theodore Metochite, *Byzantion* 3 (1926)277; M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logothetes Theodoros Metochites, Progr.Victoria-Gymnasiums, Potsdam*, 1895, A. 1145-1175. A useful but by no means complete survey of Byzantine libraries by V. Burr is to be found in F. Milkau and G. Leyh, *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* III.i (1955) 146-187.

12 cf. M. I. Manusakas, Νικηφόρου Μοσχοπούλου ἐπιγράμματα σε χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης του, Ἑλληνικά, 15 (1957) 232-246.

13 Ed. F. J. G. la Porte-du Theil, *Notices et Extraits* 5 (1799) 709-744, 6 (1800) 1-48.

14 On these passages cf. C. Wendel, Planudea, *B.Z.* 40 (1940) 432-438)

15 His colophon (fol.1r) reads: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τὸν Διοσκουρίδην παντάπασι παλαιωθέντα καὶ κινδυνεύοντα τελείως διαφθαρῆναι ἐστάχωσεν ὁ Χορτασμένος Ἰωάννης προτροπῇ καὶ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Ναθαναὴλ νοσοκόμου τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντος ἐν τῷ ξενῶνι τοῦ Κραλῆ ἔτους ϛϡιδ´ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιδ´.

16 On Chortasmenos cf. H. Hunger, Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischer Intellektueller der spaten Palaologenzeit, *W. St.* 70(1957) 153-163, A Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of Euripides*, 1957, 389-397, where the extensive literature on Chortasmenos is cited,. and a list compiled of the manuscripts which he owned or edited.

17 Palimpsests and fragmentary manuscripts apart, only the following, so far as is known to the present writer:- Vat.1288 (Cassius Dio), Ambros.1019 (Iliad), both of the fifth century; though the latter is hard to date; the Vienna Dioscorides and the Laurentian Digest, of the sixth century; Naples, Bibl. Naz. Suppl. gr. 28, olim Vindob. Suppl. gr. 28 (Dioscorides), of sixth or seventh century; Vat. Reg. 886 (Theodosian Code), of the seventh century; Ambros. 491 (Anthemius, incomplete), of seventh or eighth century; Vat. 1291 (Ptolemy's astronomical tables), Paris. 2389 (Ptolemy's Μεγάλη Σύνταξις), Paris. 2179 (Dioscorides), Montepessulanus H 306 (Dositheus), all of the ninth century; Laur. 23.26 (Chronological tables), c.900. Several of these manuscripts are only partly in Greek.

18 S. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τὰ σωζόμενα II.206.

19 J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, 1952, 331-364).

20 R. Aubreton, *Demetrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle*, 1949, 127-160.

21 A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of Euripides*, 1957, 193-4.

22. R. Guilland, *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*, 1927, 96.

23. H. Erbse, Die Genfer Iliasscholien, *Rh.M.* 95 (1952) 171-175.

24 On the question of the origin of marginal scholia cf. G. Zuntz, Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyrus, *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 631-690, 14 (1939) 545-614, particularly 570-594.

25 J. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade*, 1891, xxviii.

26 J. Nicole, *op.cit.*, xix-xx; K. Krumbacher, G.B.L.[2], 623-4, 782-4; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 706-7; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* III.ii.1512-1514; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, 792.

27 J. Nicole, *op.cit.*, xxii-xxiii.

28 H. Erbse, *op.cit.*, 170-182.

29 cf. Eust. *ad Od.* p.1850.35; *ad Il.* p.30.34; *in Dionys Perieg.* 1181, etc. etc.

30 This question is most fully discussed by A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of Euripides*, 1957, p.303-6, 222-58, where all the relevant literature is cited.

31 J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, 1952, 245-246.

32 C. Gallavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur bucolici graeci*, 1946, 244.

33 *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, 1906, 74.

34 *op.cit.*, 245-260.

35 The Aratus text is on fol.30-53. For a description of the manuscript cf. P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca de el Escorial* I. 1936. 343-346.

36 J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*, 1956, 231-234.

37 Martin, *op.cit.* 288-292.

38 H. Fränkel, *Die Handschriften der Argonautika des Apollonios von Rhodos*, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1929, 189.

39 Of which the fullest description is contained in A. Chiari, *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino*, 1927 (*Pubblicazioni della Univ. catt. del Sacro Cuore*, IV.7, 568-574.

40 cf. P. Boudreaux, *Oppian d'Apamée, La Chasse*, 1908, 32-3; A. Ludwich, *B.Ph.W.* 30 (1910) 261-263.

41 cf. A. Ludwich, 'Überlieferung der Dionysiaka des Nonnos', *Hermes* 12 (1877) 273-299.

42 cf. G. Pierleoni, 'De fontibus quibus utimur in Xenophontis Cynegetico recensendo', *Stud. Ital.* 6 (1898) 77.

43 G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2], 1952, 47.

44 For a list of these cf. M. Fernández-Galiano, *Lisias, Discursos I-XII*, 1953, xxxvi.

45 J. Burnet, *C.R.* 16 (1902) 98-101; 17 (1903) 12-14; H. Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon* (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Historiques et philologiques*, fasc.218), 1915, 242-244; E. Deneke, *De Platonis dialogorum libri Vindobonensis F memoria*, Diss. Göttingen, 1922.

46 E. R. Dodds, Notes on some Manuscripts of Plato, *J.H.S.* 77 (1957) 24-30.

47 *ibid.* 26 n.9.

48 *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* 55-60.

49 *J.H.S.* 76 (1956) 98.

50 A. Rostagni, *Anonimo, Del Sublime*, 1955, xl.

51 cf. A. Garzya, Per l'edizione delle Epistole di Sinesio: 4, Contributo alle edizioni bizantine, *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser.VIII, 13 (1958) 200-217.

52. One of the best illustrative collections of such errors is that compiled by J. Burnet from the manuscript F of Plato, *C.R.* 16 (1902) 99, 17 (1903) 13-14.

XIII

BYZANTINE SCHOLARSHIP

IT IS EASY BOTH TO OVER-ESTIMATE AND TO UNDER-ESTIMATE OUR DEBT to the Greeks. There are those who believe that all subsequent philosophy is a sort of commentary on the works of Plato, and those who maintain that Plato put philosophy upon a false trail which it is only now abandoning. And so too when we consider science or literature we meet with a broad spectrum of views, though in regard to literature what is often forgotten is that Greek literature is original in a sense that Latin literature or the modern literatures of Europe are not; for the Greeks found no established literary tradition to take over, no well-defined literary genres to imitate.

However, I do not want to enter into controversy upon this point. I want rather to emphasize that whatever influence Greek thought and Greek letters have had upon the Renaissance and the modern world, it has been exercised through the Byzantines. It is not merely that, apart from a handful of works preserved by papyri on the arid desert fringe of Egypt, every Greek text that we read today owes its survival to Byzantine copyists. A literary — or scientific — tradition needs more than the mere copying of texts. They have to be interpreted, criticized, commented upon, provided with reference aids, and so on. And people have to be taught to read them; for a long literary tradition inevitably leads to some formal differentiation between the pattern of the literary language and that of the speech of everyday intercourse. Greek has a continuous literary tradition from the eighth century B.C. — and perhaps earlier — to the present day. The only culture which can be compared with it in this respect is that of China. It is of the men who, through their often humble activities, preserved so much of Greek thought and Greek writing during the thousand years from the end of antiquity to the Renaissance that I wish to say something.

One of the problems which arose as at any rate formal adherence to Christianity spread throughout society was whether there was anything worth saving in the old culture. Even before the victory of Christianity there were two voices in the church in this matter. "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What has the academy to do with the church?", thundered Tertullian.[1] "Eschew firmly all foreign and diabolical literature" is the third-century advice of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* to the catechumen.[2] Men like Clement of Alexandria and Origen, on the other hand, did not hesitate to take over

[1] Tertullian, *De praescr. her.*, 7.
[2] *Didascalia Apostolorum*, i. 6. 6.

the whole of pagan literature, philosophy and science, not only using them as a propaedeutic or for apologetic purposes, but granting them some value in themselves. It was on these terms that the Byzantine synthesis between Christianity and classical culture was eventually made. The account given us by the church historian Socrates, writing about the middle of the fifth century of our era, of Julian the Apostate's ban on Christian teachers in public schools is illuminating.[3]

> When the emperor thus forbade Christians to obtain a classical education [he says] the Apollinarii, father and son, at once composed a series of Christian texts, to be used as the basis for a literary education in purely Christian schools. The books of the Old Testament were paraphrased as epic poems, Euripidean tragedies, comedies after the style of Menander, Pindaric odes and so on, while most of the New Testament seems to have been rendered in the form of Platonic dialogues. But Providence made their work unnecessary, as Julian was soon killed and his enactment rescinded. Some Christians object to my speaking of Providence in this context, as it would have been better for Christians to have nothing to do with Hellenic culture and its lesson of polytheism. To these objectors I reply: pagan culture was neither rejected nor accepted by Christ and his disciples. This was no accident, for many pagan philosophers came near to knowledge of God, and this may be useful to Christians. Whether we use them or not is for us to decide. Then again, Holy Scripture teaches us admirable and truly divine doctrines, inspires its hearers with piety, uprightness and faith; but it does not teach the craft of letters (οὐ μὴν τέχνην διδάσκουσι λογικήν) to be used in argument with our opponents. We must use the enemy's weapons against him, and this would be impossible under the Apollinarian system of education.

One only needs to compare the attitude of Islam or Buddhism to the pagan cultures upon which they arose, to see how near a thing it must sometimes have been. Or indeed to glance at the situation in the visual arts, where little of the old form and virtually nothing of the old content was taken over by the Byzantines.

However, the radical attitude, which rejected the whole Hellenic tradition, lived on, particularly in monastic circles, and expressions of this point of view can be found throughout the Byzantine period, from the early ninth-century saints like John the Psychaite[4] and Joannicius,[5] who proudly claimed that they knew nothing of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy, to the fourteenth-century mystic Gregory Palamas,[6] who permits the study of the classics as a concession to the weakness of the flesh but solemnly adjures his readers not to waste much time upon them. Indeed, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 we find the patriarch George Scholarios condemning his old teacher Gemistus Plethon for having studied

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 16 (paraphrased and abbreviated).
[4] *Vie de S. Jean le Psychaite*, ed. P. van den Ven (Louvain, 1902), p. 7.
[5] *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. II i (1894), p. 334.
[6] *Grégoire Palamas, Défense des saints hésychastes*, ed. J. Meyendorff (Louvain, 1959), vol. i, pp. 8-69, especially p. 37.

Hellenic literature not as other men do, for its form, but because he believed what he found written there.[7] This radical attitude was always a limiting factor on Byzantine study of and use of Hellenic tradition. And in particular, as we see from the remark of George Scholarios, it tended to drive scholarship into overmuch concentration on form to the neglect of content.

It would be a mistake to think of the Byzantine synthesis as if it were something completed by the end of antiquity and enduring unchanged thereafter for a thousand years. In fact, of course, the balance was constantly changing. Theophylact of Achrida, former teacher in the Patriarchal School and tutor to an imperial prince, and later archbishop of Bulgaria at the end of the eleventh century, can without a qualm draw arguments for divine providence from the psalms, Homer and Hesiod, side by side.[8] Yet only a generation later we find Nicholas of Methone writing — or perhaps re-editing — a long polemical refutation of the Theology of Proclus.[9] The best way to convey something of the changing quality of Byzantine scholarship will be to examine in some detail a few selected periods.

But first of all I must say a few words about the educational system within which scholarly activities were pursued, since it is very different from anything to be found in western Europe during the Middle Ages. Generally speaking, the Hellenistic educational pattern survived, with little change. The child first learned to read letters, syllables and words from the humble γραμματιστής; then the grammarian — γραμματικός — taught him to read with understanding of form and content, basing himself mainly upon the study of the classical poets; next the rhetorican — ῥήτωρ — taught him how to express his own thoughts within the framework of the literary tradition, using by way of exemplification the classical prose writers; finally the student might pass to the study of philosophy, reading and commenting upon works of Aristotle or Plato, and acquainting himself at the same time with the rudiments of mathematics, astronomy and musical theory. The boundaries between the stages were fluid. And all stages of education were not available everywhere. Village schools seem to have been widespread, but they probably taught little more than functional literacy. Provincial cities could usually provide a grammarian. But the highest stage of education could only be obtained in the capital —

[7] L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennade) Scholarios*, vol. iv (Paris, 1932), p. 152.
[8] Theophylact Achridensis, *ep.* 3, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxxvi, col. 537 D.
[9] *Nicolai Methonensis Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli Platonici*, ed. J. Th. Vömel (Frankfurt, 1825).

in the Imperial University or the Patriarchal School. It is important to bear in mind that education was not the monopoly of clergymen. There was always an educated laity in Byzantium. And even the Patriarchal School was concerned with the teaching of laymen as much as with that of clerics, who went on after completing a literary education to study in its specialized theological faculty. Monastic schools existed, but normally only for the training of novices. Lay education, subsidized by the imperial government, was essential to provide the continuous supply of literate functionaries for the apparatus of state and church upon which the continuance of the Byzantine empire depended. This, then, was the system within which scholars, most of whom were also teachers, worked. Much of their activity was narrowly pedagogical in aim. But again and again we find men of distinction going far beyond what was required for teaching.

Let us now turn to examine selected periods of Byzantine scholarship in more detail. First, the ninth century. Those who have read Miss Eleanor Duckett's admirable book *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* will have in their minds a picture of the culture of western Europe at this time. What of the east? There a long Dark Age was drawing to a close. Since the 40s of the seventh century, the Byzantine empire had been exposed to barbarian invasions at least as formidable as those which destroyed the western Roman empire earlier. Egypt, North Africa, Palestine, and Syria had been lost for good to the Arabs, whose armies and fleets continually harried Asia Minor, and twice, in 674-8 and 717-8, gave siege to Constantinople itself. With less fuss but as much effect, Slavonic peoples had occupied the whole of the northern Balkans and large areas of peninsular Greece itself, and a new and formidable state, the Bulgarian empire, had arisen in the territories lost to the Byzantines. In Italy the Lombard princes had gradually gained effective control of most of what had been Byzantine territory. And, last blow of all, Palermo, the remaining Byzantine stronghold in Sicily, fell to the Arabs in 831. Little survives in the way of literature or art from these dark centuries. Economic activity was clearly disrupted, and monetary circulation dwindled. There is hardly a building surviving from these two centuries, apart from fortifications here and there. What exactly caused events to take a new turn in the earlier part of the ninth century is something of a puzzle, which we shall not seek to solve here. The rather mysterious reign of the last Iconoclast emperor, Theophilus (829-842), is obviously of key importance. The gold in circulation increases suddenly; a new stable

relation is established with the Arab world; an extensive programme of public buildings is undertaken; and the copying and study of Greek texts, both literary and scientific, go on at a vastly increased tempo. We hear of books — rare books — being sought out in the provinces and brought to Constantinople. A new script based on the existing cursive hand replaces the cumbersome uncial. It probably originated in monastic circles in Constantinople about the beginning of the century, and was first used for religious manuscripts, but its use soon spread to profane texts. The new hand was not merely more compact and quicker to write. Transcriptions from the old hand involved quite complex editorial activity; accents and breathings had to be systematically inserted in the text; the former *scriptura continua* had to be broken up into words, and there were often more ways than one of doing this; the text had to be punctuated according to the scribe's understanding of it, and so on. The earliest dated manuscript in the new hand is an Evangeliary, now in Leningrad, written in 835;[10] the earliest profane manuscript in minuscule is the Bodleian Euclid, written in 888.[11] But Greek manuscripts were not usually dated, and these specimens are not at all likely to have been the first of their kind.

One of the first Byzantine scholars who is more than a name to us is Leo the Mathematician.[12] Born about 800, Leo was a nephew of the Iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian, a man whose wide culture is not entirely concealed by the theological odium with which subsequent generations regarded him. He studied in Constantinople, but had to go to the island of Andros to be initiated into the higher realms of mathematics by an aged monk. Returning to Constantinople Leo set up as a private teacher. There is a persistent story that his reputation spread to Bagdad, and that it was an attempt by Caliph al-Ma'mun to get him to defect to the Arabs that first brought him to the notice of the Emperor Theophilus. A public appointment — probably in the Patriarchal School — followed, and then in 840 Leo was elevated to the archbishopric of Thessalonica. Theophilus died in 842, iconoclasm ceased to be the official faith, and Leo was deposed from his archbishopric. But he was not treated by the new regime

[10] Leningrad Greek MS. bibl. publ. 219: cf. most recently E. E. Granstrem, "Katalog grecheskikh rukopisej Leningradskikh khranilishsch, I", *Viz. Vrem.*, xvi (1959), pp. 233-4.

[11] Bodl. Lib. MS. d'Orville X i infr. 2. 30.

[12] On Leo cf. E. E. Lipshits, *Ocherki istorii vizantijskogo obshchestva i kul'tury* [Studies in the History of Byzantine Society and Civilization] (Moscow, 1961), pp. 338-66; B. Hemmerdinger, *Étude sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris, 1955), pp. 35-9.

as an irreconcilable opponent: almost at once he was appointed rector and professor of philosophy in the university, just restored by the all-powerful minister Theoctistus. He was still alive, and presumably still in office, in 869. Leo was mathematician, doctor, philosopher, and poet. Radical monastic circles accused him of being a secret pagan. He is said to have designed a telegraph system to bring news from the Arab frontier in Cilicia to Constantinople. And there are many other picturesque and unverifiable stories which reflect the awe he induced in his contemporaries. However, we have a better source of information in his books. One manuscript of Ptolemy, now in the Vatican,[13] bears his ownership mark — *τοῦ ἀστρονομικωτάτου Λέοντος ἡ βίβλος*: it is an undated early minuscule codex. And copies of his colophons in other, later manuscripts enable us to construct something of his library: Archimedes, Euclid, (a marginal note in the Bodleian Euclid of 888 is copied from Leo's Euclid), Plato, the lost *Mechanics* of Quirinus and Marcellus, Paul of Alexandria, Theon of Alexandria, Proclus, Porphyrius, Apollonius of Perga, possibly Thucydides. Leo must have hunted out and had transcribed into the new hand, with all that that implies, a considerable part of the mathematical and philosophical literature of the ancients, long unknown or unread. He himself composed a medical encyclopaedia, so he no doubt had a good medical library too. But this is less striking; men's fear of death saw to it that medical text books were read and copied. Standing as he did for some thirty years at the head of the university, he must have been the teacher of a whole generation. We know that Constantine-Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, was his pupil and erstwhile colleague. And it is a reasonable inference that Photios was taught by Leo, though a curious intellectual arrogance prevents him from ever mentioning his teacher's name.

The story of Photios' life belongs as much to the political and ecclesiastical history of his time as to the history of scholarship, and I shall only summarize it briefly here.[14] Born about 820, he was the son of a wealthy official and nephew of the patriarch Tarasios. After completing his studies he became a teacher in the imperial university under his old master Leo the Mathematician. At the age of about thirty he was appointed *πρωτοασηκρῆτις* or head of the imperial chancery, and in 855 was sent on an embassy to the Caliph Mutawakkil. On his return he found a palace revolution had taken place, resulting among other things in the dismissal of the saintly but pig-headed

[13] Vatican MS. gr. 1594.

[14] On Photios's life and writings cf. K. Ziegler, "Photios", Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, xx (1941), pp. 660-737.

patriarch Ignatios. The new government chose Photios as his successor. He was rushed through all the degrees of ordination in six days and installed as patriarch on 25 December 858. In 867 he was deposed, and probably returned, after a brief exile, to his post in the university. By 877 he was back in office again, to be deposed once more on the death of Basil I in 886. The date of his death is unknown.

His works include Biblical commentaries, homilies, official and private letters, dogmatic works, hymns, a collection of theological questions and answers, and so on, as well as two works of interest to us as historians of scholarship. The first is his *Lexicon*, probably composed in his early teaching days. It is a list of difficult words to be met with in literature, with brief explanations and sometimes illustrative quotations. Its aim is purely practical, and it is largely a compilation from various Atticist lexica of antiquity which Photios found and read. Photios's work is the first Byzantine lexicon and the foundation of most subsequent works of this kind. Until recently only one manuscript was known, in Cambridge, and it lacked the beginning. But in autumn 1959 a complete manuscript was found in the library of the monastery of Hosios Nikanor in Zavorda, near Kozani in Greek Macedonia, and is now being edited by the University of Thessalonica.[15]

The second work is his *Bibliotheca*, an account of some three hundred books read by Photios and sent to his brother Tarasios before he left on his embassy in 855. More than half the books are theological writings of one kind or another, many now lost. There are one hundred and twenty-two pagan works by ninety-nine different authors: thirty-one historians, mainly belonging to the Roman empire or early Byzantine age, twenty of whose works are now wholly lost; some biography, geography, paradoxography and mythology; four novels, of which two are now lost; all the Attic orators except Lycurgus, whom he looked for but could not find; about a dozen of the later rhetoricians, including some works not surviving; of philosophers only Aenesidemus of Cnossos the Sceptic, and the Neoplatonist Hierocles; some of Philo Judaeus; a number of lost biological and medical works of Theophrastus; six further medical writers; one lost writer on agriculture; several anthologies, of which two have now been lost; sixteen lexica; a number of grammarians, etc. In brief Photios had read well over sixty classical or early Byzantine non-theological works now vanished. There have been strange

[15] Cf. L. Politis, "Die Handschriftensammlung des Klosters Zavorda und die neuaufgefundene Photios-Handschrift", *Philologus*, cv (1961), pp. 136-44.

theories on what this reading list represents.[16] Some have thought these were the books Photios took with him to read on his journey to the Caliphate — a portentous travelling library. Others have suggested that they are a list of the Greek books he found and read in Baghdad. Apart from the fact that he did not actually go to Baghdad, he could hardly have carried out so extensive a programme of reading in a period of a few months. It is much more likely that these are books which Photios unearthed in libraries in or near Constantinople. They are rare works: in his covering letter to his brother Photios calls them "books which you will not have read". This explains the absence of Homer, the tragedians, Plato, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the more familiar school authors. And it is not a complete list of all that Photios has read; he tells his brother that he will send him further summaries when he gets time. But, as we know, he never did get time.

The entries in the *Bibliotheca* vary immensely in length, but there are two main types: short notices, giving title, author, number of books, list of contents in greater or less detail, remarks on style and/or brief critical judgement; and long notices, in which information on title, author, etc., is followed by a series of verbatim excerpts from the work; usually there is no list of contents and no critical judgement. About a quarter of the entries contain a brief biographical note on the author, probably taken from an ancient biographical dictionary. There is no discernible principle of distinction between the two types of entry. It probably depends on when Photios read the book and made his notes upon it. Only in the case of the four novels does Photios indulge in moralizing criticism. Christian writers, particularly those who were heretics, tend to evoke factual criticism. But by far the most frequent, and evidently the most important in Photios's eyes, is literary criticism. His technical language does not depend on any single source, but comes from a broad tradition maintained in rhetorical teaching, and going back to Hermogenes, Demetrios, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and through them to the Stoics and Theophrastus. Photios does not take over ready-made critical judgements from handbooks.

So we find Photios engaged in hunting out rare works, and providing a lexicon and a history of literature to aid readers. Most of the books which he read will have been in the old uncial hand. And some were probably papyrus codices, several centuries old: there is ample evidence that papyrus books were known in the

[16] Cf. Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. R. Henry, vol. i (Paris, 1959), XIX-XX, LI-LII.

libraries of Constantinople in the ninth century, and that their value was recognized. We never actually catch Photios in the act of *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* — transcribing a text from uncial to minuscule — but there is no doubt that he and his pupils formed one of the centres where this activity was carried on; it has recently been suggested, on the basis of marginal notes in some manuscripts, that he was responsible for the transliteration of Strabo.[17] Another work whose origin can be traced to Photios and his circle is the earliest of the great Byzantine etymological lexica, the unpublished *Etymologicum Genuinum*. It is no doubt a later work than Photios's own *Lexicon*, and it was compiled not only from earlier lexica and etymological works, grammarians, and so on, but also in part from the scholia or marginal commentaries to classical texts which we find in some manuscripts. Without going into unnecessary detail, one can say that this material — the debris of ancient scholarship — got into its present shape and found its way, from tattered notebooks of late antiquity, to the margins of manuscripts in the new minuscule hand, precisely in the ninth century. When Photios and his circle in their etymological dictionary show familiarity with such scholia, there is some likelihood that they actually compiled the marginal commentary from which they quote.

The mists of time dim our view and probably always will, but there is little doubt that the survival of a number of Greek texts, and of the material necessary for their comprehension, depends on the work — often the spare-time work — of this busy professor, civil servant, and prelate, who combined a talent for organization with a passion for documentation and a love of literature.

As a last representative of the renaissance of the ninth and tenth centuries we may glance at a pupil of Photios's, Arethas, metropolitan of Caesarea.[18] Arethas was a cold, unattractive intriguer, and his many polemical works need not concern us here. What does concern us is his collection of manuscripts. He was a wealthy man and a discriminating reader. When he found a text of interest, he would have prepared for him a luxury manuscript, on the finest parchment, written in a beautiful early minuscule hand by a professional copyist. He would have wide margins left all round the text, in which he

[17] Cf. A. Diller, "The Scholia on Strabo", *Traditio*, x (1954), pp. 29-50.

[18] On Arethas the standard work is still S. Kougéas, Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας (Athens, 1913). It should be supplemented by the new texts published by P. Karlin-Hayter in *Byzantion*, xxviii (1959), pp. 363-89; xxxi (1961), pp. 273-307; xxxii (1962), pp. 117-27, 387-487, and by E. Zardini, "Sulla biblioteca dell'arcivescovo Areta di Cesarea", *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-kongresses — München 1958* (Munich, 1960), pp. 671-8.

would then enter in his own hand his own commentary, drawing on the debris of ancient scholarship, on his own wide reading, on lexica and reference books such as we have seen compiled in Photios's circle, and on Photios's own teaching. And he would finally enter the date, the copyist's name, the cost of the parchment, and the professional fee, for he was a methodical man. An Arethas manuscript, once seen, is not forgotten. There are three in England, the Bodleian Euclid of 888, the Clark Plato — also in the Bodleian — of 895, and the Harleian Lucian in the British Museum, probably of 913. There are also manuscripts of Aristotle's logical works, of Clement of Alexandria and the Greek Apologists, of Aelius Aristides, and of various dogmatic works, bearing his colophon. Other manuscripts probably his include a collection of specialist lexica, Dio Chrysostom, Philostratus. It has been plausibly suggested that the Laurentian manuscript of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and the Venetus A of the Iliad are copies of Arethan manuscripts. And the mention of Arethas's name in marginal scholia in later manuscripts suggests that he also included in his library Pausanias, Pollux, Plutarch's *Lives*, Epictetus, Albinus and Olympiodoros the Platonic commentators, Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*. And in one of his letters Arethas actually describes finding and transcribing a manuscript of Marcus Aurelius, which was "ancient and completely decayed".[19] It would therefore be an uncial manuscript; and Arethas's transcript is in all probability the ancestor of surviving manuscripts of Marcus Aurelius. Arethas has not the breadth of interest of Leo the Mathematician or Photios, and he seems to have worked on his own rather than as a member of a group. Yet he merits mention because we so often catch him in the act of transcription — finding a rare book, copying it, emending the text, providing it with notes on subject matter, language and style, and putting it in his library where scholars could consult it. This above all was the great contribution of these ninth-century scholars. And as I have tried to show, they were no mere passive collectors. In restoring and saving a literary tradition they had constantly to exercise their judgement — on various readings, on disputed authorship, on subject-matter and allusions, on literary worth. These are bread and butter questions for a man like Photios.

Before leaving the ninth century one further point needs emphasis. There is still a great deal to be done in reconstructing the intellectual history of the period. It depends upon painstaking study of manuscripts, and in particular examination of marginal notes,

[19] A. Sonny, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von M. Aurelius ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ", *Philologus*, liv (1895), pp. 181-3.

colophons, etc., copied from earlier exemplars, identification of hands and so on. And those who deal with Greek manuscripts are always in danger of making startling discoveries — such as the new manuscript of Photios's *Lexicon*. Only two years ago was the role of Arethas's circle in the history of the text of Athenaeus recognized.[20] The field is still open.

Let us now pass to a very different world, that of the twelfth century. First of all a few dates to serve as a framework. The First Crusade began in 1096; Alexios Comnenus, whose reign was chronicled by his learned and high spirited daughter Anna Comnena, died in 1118. The great raid on Greece by the Sicilian Normans, in which Thebes and Corinth were sacked, took place in 1147. The disastrous defeat of the Byzantine army by the Seljuk Turks at Myriokephalon occurred in 1171, and in 1180 Manuel I, grandson of Alexios I and nephew of Anna Comnena, died. 1185 sees another Norman raid, ending in the capture of Thessalonica. In 1187 Saladin captured Jerusalem, and by 1190 the Third Crusade was under way. In 1204 came the Fourth Crusade, the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, and the end, for the time being, of the Byzantine empire. Such is the background of events. It was an age of literacy. There was an unending output of speeches, letters, sermons, tracts, treatises, histories, occasional poems, novels, and so on, many of which have been published, and many of which survive in manuscripts still unpublished. It is a literature which on first acquaintance is depressing. It says so little, but with such elegance and at such length. There is so much stylistic imitation of classical models, and so much empty verbiage. Yet this would be an over-hasty judgement. There are immense individual differences in manner and style within the framework of a common tradition. To take only a single example, we have a number of speeches by Nicetas Choniates, the historian, and others by his brother Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens. No undergraduate could mistake the one for the other. A single writer could have at his command a variety of styles for different purposes. And this period saw the development of new literary forms, such as the romantic novel in verse, as well as skilful pastiches like Theodore Prodromos's *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* in Homeric hexameters, and the anonymous *Timarion*, a satire in the manner of Lucian. It saw, too, the first works of literature in the vernacular, as opposed to the literary language.

All this betokens a wide acquaintance with, and confident handling

[20] N. G. Wilson, "Did Arethas read Athenaeus?", *Jl. of Hellenic Studies*, lxxxii (1962), pp. 147-8.

of, the literary tradition. There was a real educated reading public. So far as I know, the first reference to that besetting vice of the literate, reading in bed, occurs in an unpublished letter from the latter part of the century.[21] There were a great many teachers at work in Constantinople and elsewhere, and we hear of plagiarism of one another's lectures, of quarrels over who first solved this or that problem, of meetings where scholars read papers — and quarrelled furiously about them afterwards — of something like research teams. Space permits only a brief discussion of two teachers whose actual textbooks or lectures survive — John Tzetzes[22] and Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonica.[23] Two men more different it would be hard to imagine. Tzetzes is touchy, quarrelsome, full of complaints of poverty, jealous of his colleagues, conceited, unreliable — the typical misunderstood genius whose talents have turned a little sour. Eustathios is austere, humane, the soul of kindness, professionally impersonal, able to meet with dignity any emergency from an imperial visit to the capture and sack of his city. But then Eustathios was successful, and after rising to one of the professorial chairs at the Patriarchal School was elevated to the archbishopric of the second city of the empire, while Tzetzes, whose career was clouded by a mysterious error of judgement in his youth, involving the wife of the provincial governor under whom he served, seems to have lived mainly on private lessons and casual patronage all his life. Had their lots been changed, who knows how this might have been reflected in their characters. And they have a great deal in common. First of all they are alike in the freedom with which they handle traditional material. Previous generations had reverently collected and copied the debris of ancient commentaries. These twelfth-century scholars tend to paraphrase or modify what they find, to choose where the ancient tradition merely gives a series of possible explanations and indeed to disagree flatly with traditional explanations and to substitute their own. Eustathios does this unobtrusively and politely, Tzetzes with a display of scurrilous venom; but both have a new sureness of their own judgement, which is the unmistakable mark of the age.

[21] Manuel Karantenos, letter to Constantine Kaloethes, Head of Patriarchal School and later Metropolitan of Madytus, in Vienna MS. phil. gr. 321, fol. 224.

[22] On Tzetzes cf. C. Wendel, "Tzetzes", Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, vii A (1942), pp. 1959-2012.

[23] References to the copious literature on Eustathios will be found in Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1958), i, pp. 262-4, and in P. Wirth, *Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike* (Munich, 1960), pp. 5-8.

Second, their interest is less purely linguistic than that of most earlier Byzantine scholars. Tzetzes composes long allegorical interpretations of the Iliad and Odyssey in verse, the more easily to be remembered — drawing on old material but making his own new synthesis. He is interested in the history and structure of tragedy and comedy — though his rag-bag of information and misinformation cannot lead him to any results. He compiles a handbook — again in verse — of the mythological background to the Homeric poems, and so on. Eustathios, in his vast commentaries on the Iliad and Odyssey, which again and again betray their origin as lectures, touches on the same wide variety of themes.

Third, they seek to illuminate the classical world from the experience of their own. Tzetzes often explains a difficult word by giving vernacular equivalents, and incidentally, some of his more old-fashioned colleagues seem to have criticized him for this, if I interpret aright a vitriolic outburst in his commentary on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes.[24] And he often alludes casually to events of recent history and parallels in the contemporary world. Eustathios, a somewhat younger man, is a mine of information on the language and folklore of his own time. This implies, I think, that for these men the classical tradition was a part of their own world, explicable in the same terms as the rest of their experience, and did not belong to an ideal timeless world. Its lessons could therefore be applied to the problems of their own world. To give an example of the style of work of these twelfth-century scholars, here is how Eustathios deals with the opening line of the Iliad — *Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος*.[25] First he discusses the significance of the invocation of the Muse. Then he goes on to treat in great detail of the semantics, morphology, and etymology of *μῆνιν* and *ἄειδε*. Then he asks who is the goddess invoked, and why the Muses are plural. Next comes discussion of the prosody of *Πηληιάδεω*, the metrical phenomenon of synizesis, the formation of patronymics in Greek, and the morphology of the genitive singular of first declension masculine substantives. And lastly he deals with the etymology of the name of Achilles and his role in the Iliad. All this fills seven closely printed pages, and is supported by authorities including Homer, Hierocles, Pherecydes, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Hesiod, Lycophron, Pindar, Sappho, Antimachus, Stesichorus, Euripides, Aeschylus, Hermogenes,

[24] *Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem*, fasc. III continens commentarium in Ranas et in Aves, argumentum Equitum, ed. W. J. W. Koster (Groningen, 1962), pp. 835-7.

[25] *Eustathii commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1827) (repr. Hildesheim, 1960), pp. 8-14.

Praxilla, Sotades, George Choiroboskos, Euphorion, and Strabo, not all of whom are cited at second hand. Metrical points are illustrated by reference to the accentual verses of his own day. Again, on the title Σμινθεύς given to Apollo in Iliad i. 39,[26] Eustathios first gives alternative etymologies; then he tells the legend of the delivery from a plague of mice by which some explained the cult-name, and goes on to quote parallel cases of cult-titles referring to delivery from vermin; then comes the alternative legend of the mice who gnawed through the shield-straps of the Teucrians, accompanied by parallel stories from Herodotus, Strabo, and Heracleides Ponticus. Then he speaks of historical examples of the damage done by plagues of small animals, including a recent case in Macedonia, and of reported rains of frogs and mice; by way of digression he quotes examples of the upset of the ecological balance in small islands by the introduction of new species. Then he turns to the ethical lessons of Chryses' expectation that Apollo will show him gratitude, and goes on to discuss the general ethical use of poetry. Finally he points out that the answering of Chryses' prayer prepares us for the answering of Thetis' prayer later, which is crucial to the plot of the Iliad. One may well believe that Eustathios' students must sometimes have been bewildered.

Finally the twelfth century saw a new interest in philosophy. A century earlier Michael Psellus had reintroduced serious study of Platonism. In the twelfth century we find a series of commentaries on Aristotle taken up again after a gap of five centuries. And we find that the theological controversy with which the age is filled is more and more carried on in terms of philosophical argument, and less by piling up disconnected quotations from the fathers. The tension between Christian doctrine and the implications of philosophical thought is clearly felt, and is expressed with a freedom which is quite new. Space forbids further discussion of this fascinating subject — and much of the source material is still unpublished or inadequately published. The question which springs to the mind is what sort of connection there is between this renewal of philosophy in Constantinople and the so-called twelfth-century Renaissance in western Europe.[27] We cannot yet answer the question, but the answer seems well worth seeking.

And now lastly a few words about scholarship in the fourteenth century. All those who have handled a critical text of one of the

[26] *Ibid.* pp. 30-1.
[27] Cf. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena", *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.*, clxxxviii (1962), pp. 1-12, esp. 7-10.

Greek tragedians are familiar with the names of men like Maximos Planudes, Manuel Moschopulos, Thomas Magister, and Demetrios Triklinios. Nineteenth-century classical scholars often poured scorn upon these men because of false conjectures they made in the text. Today we know a great deal more about them, their aims and their procedures, and we recognize the validity of many of their methods, even though the results, as it happened, were often worthless. But in this brief paper I do not wish to speak of these men, or at any rate not of their achievements in textual criticism and exegesis, but rather of other aspects of the scholarship of their time.

First, it was no longer self-contained and self-contemplating. The logic of history and the needs of ecclesiastical controversy and diplomatic negotiation had made a knowledge of Latin not uncommon among Byzantines by this time. For the first time since late antiquity Latin works of literature, science, and theology began to be translated into Greek. Maximos Planudes[28] translated the *Distichs* of Cato, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* together with Macrobius's commentary, Caesar's *Gallic War*, Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Donatus's grammar, and Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Fifty years later, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the brothers Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones translated the *Summa contra Gentiles* and the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, as well as works of Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Pierre of Poitiers and contemporary western theologians. At the end of the century Manuel Kalekas translated further works of Boethius, Anselm and Thomas Aquinas. And to move into a very different world, late Byzantine translations of Ovid's *Art of Love* and *Remedies for Love* have only recently been discovered, and have not yet been published.[29] The effects of this "new dimension" gained by Byzantine thought were complex and profound, and discussion of them, were I competent to undertake it, would soon lead into the even vaster problems of the origins of the Renaissance. But it is worth noting that many detailed problems of date, authorship and so on arise in connection with these Greek translations from Latin — if only because the translators were often Roman Catholic Greeks, whose names were eschewed with horror by their Orthodox fellows — and that there are still many such texts lying unidentified in the dust of libraries. Then again we find at this time not only a renewed interest

[28] Cf. C. Wendel, "Planudes", Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, xx (1950), pp. 2202-53.
[29] Cf. E. J. Kenney, "A Byzantine Version of Ovid", *Hermes*, xci (1963), pp. 213-27.

in the study of literary texts, which is generally recognized, but also a revival of mathematics and science, a point which is less generally known. To begin once again from Maximos Planudes: he produced an edition and commentary upon the first two books of the *Arithmetic* of Diophantus, which shows a high level of mathematical understanding; he wrote a text-book of astronomical computation using positional numerals with a zero; he edited Ptolemy's *Geography*, after searching for years for a manuscript of the work, and the maps we find in Renaissance manuscripts of Ptolemy are probably constructions by Planudes.[30] His colleague Manuel Moschopulos, best known for his editions of texts, also composed a treatise on magic squares, in which the problems are treated purely mathematically — how to arrange n^2 numbers in a square so that the sum of each row, column or diagonal is $\frac{1}{2}n(n^2 - 1)$.[31] George Pachymeres, the historian, also wrote an explanatory paraphrase of Diophantus and a manual on the Quadrivium, not published till 1940. Theodore Metochites, chief minister of Andronicus II for many years, and orator, poet, essayist and patron of the arts, was also an accomplished mathematician and astronomer, and wrote many treatises on these subjects, all of which are still unpublished.[32] His pupil Nikephoros Gregoras, historian and theologian, composed, among other mathematical works, two treatises on the astrolabe and one on the projections of spherical triangles on a plane, reconstructed the lost conclusion of Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, and made a proposal for the reform of the calendar.[33] About 1360 Theodore Meliteniotes, professor in the Patriarchal School and rather boring poet, composed the longest and most detailed of all Greek handbooks of astronomy; it has never been printed.[34] Nicholas Cabasilas, the mystical theologian, also tried to reconstruct the commentary of Theon of Alexandria on book iii of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[35] Manuel Bryennius wrote a long, systematic treatise on harmonics; Isaac Argyros composed a handbook of astronomy, as well as commentaries on Euclid, Heron, Nicomachus, Ptolemy, Proklos, and others. There is no need to go on; we are in a numerate world in fourteenth-century Byzantium. Now the causes of this mathematical renaissance are

[30] Cf. A. Diller, "The Oldest Manuscripts of the Ptolemaic Maps", *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, lxxi (1940), pp. 60 ff.
[31] Ed. P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. iv (Paris, 1920), pp. 27-60.
[32] Cf. H. G. Beck, *Theodoros Metrochites* (Munich, 1952).
[33] Cf. R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1926).
[34] In Vatican MS. gr. 792, probably an autograph of the author.
[35] Cf. J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin*, (Paris, 1959), pp. 164-70.

probably complex; they may even include the growing interest in astrology in a very uncertain world. But one factor which contributed to this renaissance is clearly discernible. Contact was established with the Islamic and Indian mathematical tradition. Trebizond, the centre of an autonomous state at this time, and on the eastern edge of the Greek speaking world, was the centre of translation from the Persian. About 1300 Gregorios Chioniades, physician and teacher there, visited Persia and translated Persian mathematical works.[36] About 1323 an unknown scholar, probably also from Trebizond, translated the Persian treatise on the fixed stars of Shams-al-Din al Bukhari. Another physician from Trebizond, George Chrysokokkes, studied Persian astronomy in the 1330s, and composed two major treatises on it as well as a number of essays on particular topics.[37] The work of these men and others like them not only brought together the direct tradition of Greek mathematics and the indirect tradition, via ninth-century Arab translators and Islamic commentators; it also introduced into the primarily geometrical mathematics of the Greco-Roman world elements of the algebraic approach characteristic of Indian mathematical thought. This fertilizing influence certainly had much to do with the fresh flowering of mathematics in the last century and a half of the Byzantine empire.

Late Byzantine medicine shows a similar upsurge of activity. This is a very specialized field, into which we cannot here enter in detail. But it is interesting to note that a fourteenth-century Byzantine treatise, that of Nicolaos Myrepsos, was used as a text-book in the Sorbonne till the seventeenth century.[38] In conclusion it is worth recalling how many of the mathematical texts I have referred to are still unpublished. In fact extraordinarily little of late Byzantine science and philosophy has been published. It is a real jungle, and one needs to acquire some jungle lore before venturing into it. But it is important that Byzantine scholars and historians of science should explore it, because many of these late Byzantine mathematical and scientific texts were frequently read and copied in the early Renaissance. They must have had some influence upon Renaissance mathematical and scientific thought. What we need to know of

[36] Cf. I. B. Papadopulos, Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί, 'Επιστ. 'Επετ. τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπ. Θεσσαλονίκης, vol. i (Thessalonika, 1927), pp. 153-206.
[37] Cf. U. Lampsides, "Georges Chrysococcis, le médecin, et son oeuvre", *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxxviii (1938), pp. 312-22.
[38] Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1897), p. 615.

course is what influence, when, where, on whom. These are difficult questions, but until we can answer them our picture of the origins of modern European thought must be somewhat one-sided.

XIV

IGNACE LE DIACRE ET LA TRAGÉDIE CLASSIQUE A BYZANCE

Quand les Byzantins redécouvrirent-ils la tragédie grecque? En un sens, c'est un faux problème : il y avait toujours des manuscrits d'Eschyle, de Sophocle et d'Euripide à Byzance, et sans doute se trouvait-il quelqu'un pour les lire. Mais il s'agit plutôt de savoir à quelle époque les tragédies classiques reprirent place dans la culture générale byzantine, à quelle époque elles redevinrent des textes scolaires, à quelle époque on recommença à les copier dans la nouvelle écriture minuscule.

Alphonse Dain, dans un article qui fait encore autorité, suggéra que ce n'est qu'au cours de la deuxième moitié du xe siècle qu'on reprit l'étude et la copie des textes poétiques, en particulier de ceux des tragiques. Il ajoute : « On s'explique assez bien que les poètes anciens aient été tout d'abord négligés. Le mouvement de pensée du IXe siècle était avant tout religieux et théologique : ce n'est qu'au siècle suivant que la cour inspira le mouvement littéraire. La poésie, à cette époque, est avant tout affaire d'universitaires, et l'on sait le peu de rayonnement à cette date de l'Université de Constantinople » (1).

Mais il se peut que le contact avec les textes de l'antiquité ait été repris d'une façon moins schématique. La culture byzantine était moins monolithique qu'on ne le croit, et souvent des tendances bien différentes se manifestaient à la même époque. En fait, il y a maint indice d'un intérêt assez vif pour le drame classique à partir de la première moitié du IXe siècle.

(1) Alphonse Dain, La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 33-47, en particulier p. 45.

D'abord, un maître d'école byzantin de la première moitié du x^e siècle possédait un texte de Sophocle. Il s'agit de l'auteur anonyme d'un corpus de lettres conservé dans l'Additional Manuscript du British Museum n° 36 749, que M. B. Laourdas et moi avons édité en collaboration (2). Bien qu'aucune de ces lettres ne soit datée avec précision, elles semblent appartenir aux troisième et quatrième décennies du x^e siècle, comme je l'ai suggéré (3). Et l'on peut se permettre l'hypothèse, qu'un grammairien qui demandait à un ami le retour de son Sophocle en avait besoin pour son travail d'enseignement.

Puis il y a le cas de Léon Choirosphaktès, homme d'État et diplomate sous Léon VI. Choirosphaktès, qui était poète et savant, fut l'objet d'attaques de la part de Constantin le Rhodien, qui l'accusa de paganisme dans un poème bizarre et plein d'animosité (4), et d'Aréthas de Césarée, qui publia un pamphlet contre lui peu après 906. Parmi les griefs de cet acte d'accusation se trouvent celui de s'intéresser à la musique antique — les noms de Timothéos et d'Aristoxène y figurent — et celui d'étudier la tragédie classique. Citons le texte (5), qui, comme tout ce qu'écrivit Aréthas, n'est pas facile à interpréter :

Ἐντεῦθεν θεάτροις καὶ μίμοις τε καὶ προδεἰκταις καὶ τῇ ἐκεῖ πάσῃ ἀσχημοσύνῃ θεάτριζε τὴν σοφίαν, εἰ βούλει Διονυσίοις καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐμπομπεύειν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦτο κωλύσων τὸν καθάπαξ κακοδαιμόνως ἀποκυλισθέντα τοῦ κρείττονος. Τούτοις καὶ ἀποθύσεις ἀνυποστόλως τῶν σεαυτοῦ ἐγγόνων ῥημάτων καὶ συμβακχεύσεις τοῖς θιασώταις, τοῖς Σειλήνοις, τοῖς Σατύροις, ταῖς Μαινάσι, ταῖς Βάκχαις. Ἔστιν ᾧτινι τούτων καὶ Ἰκαρίῳ προσχρήσῃ ὡς ὄνῳ σοι ἐφιζάνοντι καὶ τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν οἶμον ἐλαύνοντι. Καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑκάβῃ τινι ἐγκαλλωπίσῃ τῷ γήρᾳ πολλοῖς σοι παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀθεότητα τῶν εἰς αἰσχρότητα ἀπορρήτων κεκοινωνηκυίᾳ, ᾗ καὶ ἀξιόχρεῳ

(2) B. Laourdas, Ἡ συλλογὴ ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ κώδικος MB, Add. 36749, Ἀθηνᾶ 58 (1954), 196.

(3) R. Browning, The Correspondence of a Tenth century Byzantine Scholar, *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 434-435.

(4) Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* II 625-626.

(5) Compernass, *Didaskaleion* 1 (1912) 304 ff. Le même texte fut réédité, avec beaucoup d'erreurs et de bévues, par M. A. Changuine, *Vizantijskij Sbornik*, Moscou-Léningrad 1945, 236-241. Voir maintenant l'édition par M. L. G. Westerink, signalée dans la note additionnelle à la fin du présent article.

Ἴριδι τῶν ἀναιδῶν σου καὶ ἀμαθεστάτων κέχρησαι πόνων. Τούτοις κατευθύνου, τούτοις κατευόδου κτλ.

Ce qui semble être décrit dans ce texte peu clair est une sorte de cercle, où l'on lisait des tragédies classiques, et où peut-être on essayait d'en donner une représentation dramatique rudimentaire. C'est cet intérêt de la part de Choirosphaktès qui explique pourquoi son correspondant Anastase le questeur, dans une lettre datée par Kolias de la fin de 906, dit qu'un Euripide ou un Platon serait embarrassé pour trouver des louanges convenables à ses mérites (6).

Ensuite il y a le cas de Photius. Dans sa *Bibliothèque* Photius n'inclut aucun texte dramatique. Les hypothèses sur l'occasion de la composition de la *Bibliothèque* sont nombreuses (7).

Ce qui est certain, puisque Photius le dit sans ambiguïté dans sa préface, c'est que les œuvres enregistrées dans la *Bibliothèque* sont celles que Photius (et ses amis?) ont lues pendant une certaine période et que son frère, auquel la *Bibliothèque* est dédiée, n'a pas lues. Donc les arguments tirés du silence de Photius n'ont pas de validité générale. Il est vrai aussi que Photius était le moins poète des hommes, et que dans ses lettres et ses homélies il est très difficile de trouver une allusion à la tragédie classique. Mais la question est de savoir s'il avait lu les tragiques et non s'il les appréciait. Si l'on passe au *Lexique*, œuvre de sa jeunesse (8), je crois que cette question reçoit une réponse claire. Dans le texte du *Lexique* édité par Naber les citations de la tragédie classique fourmillent. Il y a 84 citations d'Eschyle, 128 de Sophocle, 95 d'Euripide. Le commencement du *Lexique*, édité par R. Reitzenstein, ajoute 27 références à Eschyle, 63 à Sophocle, et 49 à Euripide (9). Malheureusement nous n'avons pas encore de renseignements sur le nouveau manuscrit découvert en 1959 à Zavorda, qui contient

(6) G. Kolias, *Léon Choirosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice*, Athènes 1939, 93.

(7) V. A. Dain, *op. cit.*, 40 ; H. Ahrweiler, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son Patriarcat, *Byzantion* 58 (1966), 356-361.

(8) V. Amphilochia 21, *PG* 101, 153 : οἷα δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπράχθη τὴν τῶν μειρακίων ἡλικίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, παραλλάττουσι. M^me Hélène Ahrweiler vient de montrer que la chronologie traditionnelle de la vie de Photius doit être revisée, qu'il naquit vers 810, et que la composition du *Lexique* peut donc être datée de 830 ou peu après : H. Ahrweiler, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat, *B.Z.* 58 (1965) 348-363.

(9) R. Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios*, Leipzig 1907.

le texte intégral du *Lexique* (10). Certaines de ces références sont sans doute empruntées à des œuvres lexicographiques de l'Antiquité dépouillées par le jeune Photius. Mais une simple considération mathématique suggère que la plupart sont le fruit de sa lecture directe des drames classiques. Des 90 drames d'Eschyle connus dans l'Antiquité (11), sept survivaient au Moyen Age. Or, des 111 citations d'Eschyle dans le *Lexique* de Photius, 47 appartiennent à ces sept. Pour Sophocle, les chiffres correspondants sont à peu près 125 et sept ; des 190 citations dans le *Lexique*, 50 appartiennent aux sept drames qui survivent. Quant à Euripide, la *Vie* et la *Souda* parlent de 92 ou 98 drames, les Alexandrins et les grammairiens de l'Antiquité semblent en avoir connu 75 ou 78 ; nous en avons dix-neuf, dont un d'authenticité douteuse. Des 144 citations chez Photius, 94 appartiennent aux dix-neuf drames qui survivent. Ces chiffres sont frappants, et l'hypothèse qui les explique le mieux est que le jeune Photius avait lu le même corpus des tragiques grecs que nous lisons aujourd'hui.

Si l'on accepte la nouvelle chronologie proposée par M^me^ Ahrweiler, la jeunesse de Photius se place autour de l'an 830 ou peu après, sous le règne de Théophile, et dans la période de l'activité de notre dernier témoin, Ignace le Diacre et Skeuophylax, plus tard métropolite de Nicée.

Ignace fut l'élève du patriarche Taraise (mort en 806), dont il écrivait la biographie, et l'ami intime de son successeur Nicéphore (déposé en 815 et mort en 828 ou 829), dont il fut aussi le biographe. La date de sa mort est inconnue, mais elle fut postérieure à 842 (12). Outre ces deux biographies, Ignace a composé une série de résumés des fables d'Ésope en tétrastiques ïambiques, une monodie sur son élève Paul en vers anacréontiques, quelques épigrammes, un poème ïambique sur Thomas le Slavon — sans doute écrit

(10) V. L. Politis, Die Handschriftensammlung des Klosters Zavorda und die neuaufgefundene Photios-Handschrift, *Philologus* 105 (1961) 136-144. — Voir la note additionnelle à la fin du présent article.

(11) Le chiffre exact est sans importance. La *Souda* parle de 90 ; la liste du Codex Mediceus donne 72 titres, auxquels nous pouvons ajouter encore une demi-douzaine tirés d'autres sources ; la *Vie* donne un total de 70, mais dans un passage évidemment corrompu.

(12) V. F. Dvornik, *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IX^e^ siècle*, Paris 1926, 26.

après la défaite et la mort de l'usurpateur en 823 — qui est perdu, des lettres, qui semblent également perdues, une *Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite*, et un dialogue dramatique entre le Serpent, Adam, Ève et Dieu (13).

Ignace dit lui-même que son maître Taraise l'initia à l'étude de la poésie classique (14). Les quelques échos d'Homère et de la tragédie classique que présente la Vie de Nicéphore furent notés il y a 80 ans (15) ; les deux autres textes en prose en offrent encore quelques exemples. Mais c'est surtout dans le dialogue d'Adam, Ève et le Serpent qu'Ignace fait preuve d'une connaissance directe de la tragédie antique. C'est un épisode dramatique comportant un prologue, des entrées et des sorties, des dialogues, d'abord entre Ève et le Serpent, ensuite entre Ève et Adam, et finalement entre Dieu et Adam ; il y a une vraie péripétie, car la situation des principaux personnages est bien différente à la fin de ce qu'elle était au commencement. Tout cela ne s'apprenait pas chez George de Pisidie, modèle préféré de la poésie ïambique byzantine, et indique plutôt une connaissance, ne fût-elle que superficielle, de la tragédie classique.

Ensuite, il y a dans ce bref texte une série d'échos verbaux de Sophocle et d'Euripide, dont la plupart n'ont pas été notés par Müller. Je les range dans deux catégories, d'abord les citations directes ou les allusions à des passages précis des tragiques, ensuite les emprunts plus généraux à la langue de la tragédie :

(13) La *Souda* conserve une liste des œuvres, qui est loin d'être complète. La Vie de Taraise fut éditée par I. A. Heikel, *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17 (1889) 395-423 ; celle de Nicéphore, par C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, Leipzig 1880, 139-217 ; celle de saint Grégoire le Décapolite, par F. Dvornik, *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IX^e^ siècle*, Paris 1926. La monodie sur Paul se trouve chez Matranga, *Anecdola Graeca* II 664 ; les quatre épigrammes, dans l'*Anthologie Grecque* 15. 29-31, 39 ; les tétrastiques ésopiques, chez O. Crusius, *Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae*, Leipzig 1897, 264-285. Le dialogue dramatique fut édité pour la dernière fois par C. F. Müller, *Ignatii Diaconi tetrasticha iambica 53, versus in Adamum 143;* Kiel 1886. Selon H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959, 511 des lettres attribuables à Ignace furent publiées par M. Gedeon, Νέα Βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων, Constantinople 1903 ; mais cette édition m'est inaccessible, comme elle l'était à M. Beck. Certains aspects de la biographie d'Ignace ont été récemment discutés par G. Marenghi, Ignazio diacono e i tetrastici giambici, *Emerita* 25 (1957) 487-498.

(14) Heikel, *op. cit.*, 423.

(15) Müller, *op. cit.*, 15.

1.

71 καὶ μηχαναῖς με τοῦτον ἐκκλέψαι λέγεις.
cf. S. *Ph.* 55 ψυχὴν ὅπως λόγοισιν ἐκκλέψεις λέγων (16).

75 πείσεις γὰρ οὕτως εὐπετῶς · γυνὴ γὰρ εἶ.
cf. E. *Andr.* 85 πολλὰς ἂν εὕροις μηχανάς, γυνὴ γὰρ εἶ.

118 ποδῶν Θεοῦ πάρεστιν εἰς ὦτα κτύπος.
cf. E. *I.A.* 438 ποδῶν ἔστω κτύπος.

126 ποῦ νῦν ἔδης ; καὶ ποῖος ἀνθ' οἵου πέλεις.
cf. S. *Ai.* 923 ὦ δύσμορ' Αἴας, οἷος ὢν οἵως ἔχεις (17).

128 εἰς προῦπτον οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἐλθεῖν · ἀλλά γε ·
cf. S. *O.C.* 1440 εἰς προῦπτον Ἅιδην οὐ καταστένοι, κάσι.

136 ἐπεὶ γυναικὸς εὑρέθης ἡττημένος.
cf. E. *Al.* 697 λέγεις γυναικός, ὦ κάκισθ', ἡσσημένος.

2.

1 ἀγῶνας, ἆθλα ·
cf. S. *Tr.* 506 ἄεθλ' ἀγώνων.

3 συμπλακεὶς πάλαι ·
cf. S. *frg.* 548.2 συμπλακείς ποτε.

19 φωστῆρα διφρεύοντα πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν.
cf. E. *Suppl.* 991 τίν' αἴγλαν ἐδίφρευε τόθ' ἅλιος.
S. *Ai.* 857 τὸν διφρευτὴν ἅλιον προσεννέπω.

35 φυτῶν ἁπάντων δεικνύει μαιεύτριαν.
cf. *Antiatt. Bekkeri* 108.31 μαιεύτριαν ἀντὶ τοῦ μαῖαν Σοφοκλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

46 πόνων ἄκος.
cf. E. *Andr.* 121 ἄκος τῶν δυσλύτων πόνων.

52 βιοῦν ἀλύπως.
cf. E. *Ba.* 1004 ἄλυπος βίος (18).

(16) Déjà noté par Müller, *op. cit.*, 30, n. 5.
(17) C. F. Müller, *Philologus* 46 (1881), 172.
(18) Mais peut-être est-ce chez Athanase qu'il faut chercher la source de la phrase : cf. *De incarn. verbi* 3-4 ἔχωσι τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ ἄλυπον καὶ ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἀμέριμνον βίον.

56 μὴ τοῦδε προσψαύσητε τοῦ φυτοῦ μόνου.
cf. S. *Ph.* 1054 μηδὲ προσψαύσητ' ἔτι.

63 ἔσεσθε πάντως ὡς θεοί, δεδορκότες.
δεδορκότες-κότα, etc. se trouve en fin de trimètre quatre fois chez Euripide, *Phoen.* 115, *Hr.* 23, *HF* 564, *Suppl.* 1193.

73 γεύσεως ἄτερ.
ἄτερ précédé d'un génitif de substantif se trouve en fin de trimètre trois fois chez Sophocle, treize fois chez Euripide.

125 τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς μέλημα χειρός.
cf. S. *Ph.* 150 πάλαι μέλημά μοι λέγεις.

Essayons maintenant d'atteindre quelques précisions sur la vie et l'activité d'Ignace. Les données sont peu nombreuses, mais on peut tout de même en tirer quelque chose. Il était élève et protégé du patriarche Taraise, et devint ensuite son secrétaire personnel et sténographe (19). Cet emploi cessa sans doute avec la mort du patriarche en 806. La *Souda* désigne Ignace comme διάκονος καὶ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ γεγονὼς μητροπολίτης Νικαίας, γραμματικός. Donc il poursuivit sa carriere dans les cadres du clergé de Sainte-Sophie, carrière couronnée de façon normale par son élévation à l'épiscopat. Mais le σκευοφύλαξ occupe une place élevée dans la hiérarchie de la Grande Église. Ignace dut y arriver en passant par des échelons inférieurs.

La clé du problème est donnée par le mot γραμματικός, dans la *Souda*, et par le titre de μαγίστωρ attribué à Ignace dans un des manuscrits des tétrastiques ésopiques (20). Ignace enseignait la « grammaire », c'est-à-dire l'art de lire la littérature classique, dans une école dépendant de la Grande Église. Plus tard, au XIIe siècle, il y avait tout un réseau d'écoles moyennes et supérieures qui fonctionnaient sous l'égide du Patriarche, et dont les professeurs étaient souvent élevés à l'épiscopat (21). Il serait risqué d'extrapoler ce système jusqu'à la première moitié du IXe siècle ; et M. H.-G. Beck

(19) V. I. A. Heikel, *op. cit.*, 423.
(20) Cod. Vindob. Philol. gr. 178, fol. 341v.
(21) V. R. Browning, The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the twelfth century, *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 167-202 ; 33 (1963) 11-40.

vient de nous rappeler que l'existence même d'une « École Patriarcale » avant la fin du XI^e siècle n'est qu'une hypothèse (22). Néanmoins il est certain qu'à Constantinople l'église se chargeait de donner aux futurs clercs ainsi qu'aux laïcs l'éducation profane et traditionnelle qui était indispensable aux cadres élevés du clergé. Le poème anacréontique sur la mort de son *élève* Paul confirme qu'Ignace était professeur.

Krumbacher, pour des motifs sur lesquels nous reviendrons, distingue Ignace le μαγίστωρ τῶν γραμματικῶν, auteur de quelques épigrammes et du poème funèbre anacréontique, d'Ignace le diacre et métropolite, auteur des *Vies*, des tétrastiques, et du dialogue dramatique (23). Et Marenghi, — bien qu'il reconnaisse l'identité du diacre et du grammairien — s'étend sur le contraste entre les deux rôles que jouait Ignace (24). Ces hésitations, ces doutes sont dus au manque de compréhension de la carrière d'Ignace — protégé d'un patriarche, diacre et professeur de grammaire dans une école patriarcale, skeuophylax, évêque — une carrière normale à Byzance.

Ce qui amena Krumbacher à distinguer deux auteurs homonymes, ce fut l'épigramme *A.P.* 1.109, intitulée Ἰγνατίου τοῦ μαγίστορος τῶν γραμματικῶν. Εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου εἰς τὴν Πηγήν. Puisqu'on y fait allusion aux trois empereurs Basile I, Constantin et Léon, ce petit poème doit avoir été écrit après 870 ; il ne peut donc être attribué à Ignace, qui naquit vers 780. Il est vraisemblable que cette épigramme est l'œuvre d'un homonyme de notre diacre, qui vécut une ou deux générations plus tard. Elle fut sans doute, comme les épigrammes qui la suivent dans l'*Anthologie*, copiée sur une inscription de l'église même. Mais les autres épigrammes attribuées à Ignace (*A.P.* 15.29-31, 39), qui se trouvent toutes ensemble dans une autre section de l'*Anthologie*, et qui ne peuvent être des copies de textes épigraphiques, n'ont rien à voir avec *A.P.* 1.109. L'une d'elles (*A.P.* 15.30) est dédiée à la mémoire du même Paul, dont la mort fournit le sujet du poème anacréontique ;

(22) V. H.-G. Beck, Bildung und Theologie im frühmittelalterlichen Byzanz, *Polychronion, Festschrift F. Dölger*, Heidelberg 1966, 69-81.
(23) K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2^e éd., 1897, 720.
(24) G. Marenghi, *op. cit.*, surtout pp. 492-6.

une autre (*A.P.* 15.31) est une épitaphe de Samuel, diacre de la Grande Église, donc collègue de notre Ignace ; la troisième (*A.P.* 15.39), dédicace d'un livre — et d'un livre de « grammaire » plutôt que de théologie — mérite d'être citée :

Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεῦξε, σοφῆς πολυΐδρις ἀοιδῆς,
Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεῦξεν, ὃς ἐς φάος ἤγαγε τέχνην
γραμματικήν, λήθης κευθομένην πελάγει.

Nous sommes nécessairement au royaume des hypothèses. Mais l'hypothèse la plus économique est de supposer que ces quatre épigrammes, ainsi que le poème anacréontique, appartiennent à l'Ignace, diacre de Sainte-Sophie et professeur dans une école patriarcale, que nous connaissons comme auteur des *Vies*, des tétrastiques et du dialogue dramatique. Il était fier de ses connaissances en matière de métrique et de poésie. Et il avait redécouvert « la grammaire, depuis longtemps oubliée ». Tout cela rappelle ce que dit Kométas, éditeur d'Homère, dans des épigrammes qui dans l'*Anthologie Palatine* (*A.P.* 15.36-38) précèdent immédiatement celle d'Ignace que nous venons de citer. Kométas est probablement à identifier à un professeur de grammaire, à Constantinople en 863 et sans doute bien avant cette date. Ces poèmes de Kométas furent composés comme préface ou dédicace de sa diorthose d'Homère. L'épigramme d'Ignace peut avoir été la préface d'une édition d'un texte tragique. En tout cas il semble certain qu'il connaissait certaines pièces de Sophocle et d'Euripide, et, en tant que professeur de langue et littérature classiques, les expliquait et les faisait copier. Les tétrastiques ésopiques sont également liés à son activité professionnelle, car les fables d'Ésope étaient toujours étudiées et expliquées dans les écoles byzantines.

L'activité professorale d'Ignace appartient aux règnes de Léon V, Michel II et Théophile, période dont on ne saurait trop souligner l'importance pour la civilisation byzantine (25). Il était contemporain de Jean le Grammairien, le dernier patriarche iconoclaste et sans doute le plus grand savant de son époque (26), de vingt ans plus âgé que Léon le Mathématicien, qui devint métropolite de

(25) V. dernièrement R. J. H. Jenkins, *Byzantium: the Imperial Centuries, AD 610 to 1071*, Londres 1966, 146-152 ; B. Hemmerdinger, La culture grecque classique du VII^e au IX^e siècle, *Byzantion* 34 (1964), 125-133.
(26) V. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 134.

Thessalonique vers 840 (27), et plus âgé d'une génération que Photius (28), qui peut fort bien avoir été son élève.

Nous nous trouvons dans un milieu où il y avait un effort sérieux et continu pour reprendre un contact direct avec la littérature, la science et la philosophie de l'Antiquité. Est-ce Ignace qui a lui-même ' retrouvé ' Sophocle et Euripide? C'est une question à laquelle on ne peut répondre. D'ailleurs, c'est de peu d'importance. Peut-être des textes de tragiques se trouvaient-ils parmi les manuscrits réunis par Jean le Grammairien en 814 pour le concile iconoclaste de 815 (29). En tout cas, nous avons montré que les tragiques étaient connus d'un des principaux personnages du monde savant de Byzance dans la période du deuxième iconoclasme.

Car il ne faut pas oublier qu'Ignace, malgré ses biographies de Taraise et de Nicéphore, dut être iconoclaste. Selon M[me] Lipchitz, il est figuré à côté de Jean le Grammairien dans une des miniatures du Psautier Khloudov (30). Mais la reproduction qu'elle a publiée ne rend pas claire son identification des deux personnages, représentés en train de badigeonner une image sacrée. Comme Léon le Mathématicien, Ignace n'était pas un iconoclaste bigot, et il est probable qu'il s'intéressait peu à la théologie. Sa plus grande préoccupation était la littérature, surtout la poésie classique. C'est à lui et à sa génération qu'appartient l'honneur d'avoir remis en circulation la poésie dramatique d'Athènes (31).

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(27) V. E. E. Lipchitz, *Očerki istorii vizantiiskogo obščestva i kultury: VIII — pervaja polovina IX veka*, Moscou-Léningrad 1961, 348.

(28) V. H. Ahrweiler, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son Patriarcat, *B.Z.* 58 (1965), 355.

(29) *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, ed. Bonn, 350, 9 ss.

(30) V. Lipchitz, *op. cit.*, pl. 9.

(31) *Note additionnelle.* — Deux ouvrages parus depuis que cet article fut envoyé à l'imprimerie méritent d'être mentionnés. Le texte du pamphlet contre Léon Choirosphaktès est publié dans *Arethae scripta minora*, ed. L. G. Westerink, Leipzig, Teubner, 1968, 200-212. — M. Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou, dans τὸ Λεξικὸ τοῦ Φωτίου. Χρονολόγηση-χειρόγραφὴ παράδοση. Thessalonique, Société des Études Macédoniennes, 1967, fournit une description détaillée du nouveau manuscrit du *Lexique*, conteste la datation de la naissance de Photius proposée par M[me] Ahrweiler, et date la composition du *Lexique* des années 876-886. Ses arguments sont bien séduisants. Mais, même si on les accepte, il reste vrai que les premiers témoignages de l'étude de la poésie dramatique grecque appartiennent au neuvième et non au dixième siècle. — R. B.

XV

ENLIGHTENMENT AND REPRESSION IN BYZANTIUM IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

PEDAGOGUES ARE INCLINED TO OVER-ESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF education and to lose themselves in sterile discussion of its technicalities. It is a fault they share with most of the so-called learned professions. The excuse for a somewhat involved treatment of certain aspects of Byzantine education is that education played a more significant rôle in the Byzantine world than in societies with a shorter and less complex cultural heritage. It was the means by which this sophisticated society maintained in the minds of its own élite the image which it formed of itself, in spite of what was in medieval terms a high social mobility. A man who reached a position of power, as many did, was already moulded and trained to exercise that power in accordance with traditional ideals. And even in the darkest age of the seventh and eighth centuries, still more in more enlightened epochs, there existed in the Byzantine world a complex and sophisticated apparatus of government, which had need of men who could not only read and write, but had some acquaintance, however superficial, with the heritage of Greek antiquity.[1]

The image which the Byzantines formed of their own society was pregnant with contradictions. Was Constantinople the New Rome or the New Jerusalem? The official title of the patriarch spoke of New Rome. Yet emperors in their official pronouncements constantly spoke of "Our Israel". Could a state be both at once? Or was a Byzantine constantly faced with a choice the moment he left the most banal routine? Education of necessity reflected the dilemma of the society which it formed, and at the same time offered the means of escaping from its horns.

But there was more to it than that. Education, and particularly higher education, represents a danger for any established authority, and particularly so when it gives its pupils access to a long and distinguished intellectual tradition. The pupils of Plato are rarely conventional good citizens. And those who have learnt from Aristotle to analyse and to compare, tend to do so just when those in power least want them to. Yet the Byzantine state and church had a

[1] Cf. Cod. Theod., 14.1.1, on the importance of learning for advancement in the civil service in the fifth century.

continual need of men of culture, men who could express themselves with clarity and elegance, men who could analyse a problem with many variables. Here is another dilemma for those who transmitted, and transformed in the transmission, their top-heavy intellectual heritage.

It is such considerations as these, and not merely the pedagogue's delight in details, that have inspired the many studies of Byzantine education that have appeared since the last war, of which the most recent and most distinguished are Paul Lemerle's *Le Premier humanisme byzantin* (1971) and Paul Speck's *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (1974).[2]

We know a good deal today about the educational system and the intellectual climate of Byzantium in the twelfth century, the age of the Comneni. In the capital there was a network of schools which taught grammar, in the classical sense of that word, and rhetoric. They were in various ways under the surveillance and control of the emperor and the patriarch, and their teachers received a regular salary from the same sources. Many of them were deacons of the Great Church. Teachers were regularly promoted from one post to another. And a career in the schools was not infrequently crowned by appointment to a bishopric in the provinces,[3] for the careerists among these teachers were celibate, like the fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges until 1878. The example which springs to mind is that of Eustathius, "Master of the Rhetoricians" at Constantinople in the third quarter of the twelfth century and later metropolitan of Thessalonica, whose stupendous commentary on Homer is an inexhaustible mine of information on the classical tradition in the Greek middle ages. But there were many others too. What strikes the observer in this picture is the virtual absorption of the teaching profession into the officialdom of the state, and above all of the church.

There were of course also private schools. Nicephorus Basilakes, whom we shall meet again later, tells us that he began to teach in a private school before being appointed to an official teaching post as

[2] Paul Lemerle, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971); Paul Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1974).

[3] R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century", *Byzantion*, xxxii (1962), pp. 167-202, xxxiii (1963), pp. 11-40; J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les officia de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 66-79; I. S. Chichurov, "Novye rukopisnye svedeniya o vizantijskom obrazovanii" [New manuscript information on Byzantine education], *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, xxxi (1971), pp. 238-42; R. Browning, "Ho Markianos hellēnikos kōdikas XI.31 kai hē Byzantinē schedographia", *Parnassos*, xv (1973), pp. 506-19.

a deacon of Santa Sophia.[4] Evidently these private establishments did not have the prestige of the officially sponsored schools. They did not offer to their teachers the prospect of a brilliant career. Of course this does not apply to elementary education. One could learn to read and write in many places, not only in the capital. The elementary schoolmaster was a lowly individual, who often had a second job as a notary *(taboullarios)* or letter-writer. What we are talking about is the kind of education which produced men of letters.

The spirit of this education in the twelfth century was classicizing and formalistic. Form was more important than content. Pupils were steered towards literature, or belles-lettres, rather than towards thought. Men felt at their ease in a world which encouraged superficial imitations of antiquity, like the works falsely attributed to Lucian, or the romantic novels composed in so-called Attic Greek, in quantitative verse with hardly a false quantity, novels whose plot was set in a classical world, timeless and unhistorical. Learning, albeit of an uncritical kind, also counted, as we can see in Eustathius, or in his humbler contemporary John Tzetzes. But philosophy, which in the eleventh century had been pursued by men of originality and distinction like Michael Psellus and John Italus, had vanished from the scene — or very nearly so; we shall come back to this point later. It is an age of uncreative erudition, of sterile good taste. Its typical products are the elegant but flat poetry of Theodore Prodromus, some of which has just been edited by Wolfram Hörandner, the strained antiquarianism of Anna Comnena's history of her father's reign, the endless series of panegyrics and funeral orations whose authors laboriously strive to recreate the world of the Second Sophistic or the age of Hadrian and the Antonines, but with an ill-assorted Christian veneer.

How did Hellenic culture, for which the Byzantines had all the sources, get emasculated like this? Here is a problem to which it is worth while to try to sketch a provisional answer. Provisional, because not a few texts are still unpublished, and there are many thorny problems of authorship and dating. To take but one example, we have no reliable list of the works of Michael Psellus, and few readable editions of them.[5] But let us make a beginning.

[4] A. Garzya, "Intorno al Prologo di Niceforo Basilace", *Jahrbuch für österreichische Byzantinistik*, xviii (1969), p. 59.

[5] Cf. most recently E. Kriaras, "Psellos", in A. G. von Pauly, G. Wissowa (eds.), *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband 11 (1968), pp. 1,124-82; Ya. N. Lyubarskij, "Mikhail Psell. Lichnost' i mirovozzrenie" [Michael Psellus. Personality and world-view], *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, xxx (1969), pp. 73-93; G. Weiss, "Forschungen zu den Schriften des Michael Psellos", *Byzantina*, iv (1972), pp. 9-51.

Michael Psellus usually claims to be self-taught. There is a famous passage in his *Chronography* in which he depicts the decline of learning, and particularly of philosophy, during the reign of Basil II (976-1025) and explains how he himself launched a one-man renaissance:

> You who now read my work will bear me witness that I found philosophy at its last gasp, as far as those who professed it were concerned, and brought it to life again on my own, without the help of teachers of any account and without finding among Greeks or barbarians any germ of wisdom in spite of searching everywhere.[6]

No doubt Basil, who passed his life at the head of his army and whose portrait, in a well-known manuscript of the Marcian Library,[7] represents the very apotheosis of power, had little taste for letters and even less for professors. But Psellus's observations on the decline and subsequent restoration of learning are a variation on a commonplace. Theophylact Simocatta in the early seventh century speaks in similar terms of the emperor Heraclius.[8] The continuator of Theophanes says the same thing of the Caesar Bardas in the middle of the ninth century.[9] Both he and Cedrenus speak of the restoration by Constantine VII a century later of a long-moribund learning,[10] and the preface to the *Geoponica* — addressed to the same emperor — declares that he saved rhetoric and philosophy which had been "sunk in the depths of Lethe".[11] Later on Anna Comnena was to boast that her father Alexius I had presided over a renaissance of letters after a long decline.[12] The originality of Psellus is that he borrows a commonplace of imperial panegyric and applies it to himself.

We know of many scholars and teachers of the generation before Psellus — usually thanks to Psellus himself — men like John Mauropous,[13] Nicephorus, bishop of Ephesus,[14] the bishop of Cyzicus and his nephew Nicetas,[15] the metropolitan of Claudiopolis,[16]

[6] Michael Psellus, *Chronography*, 6.37.5.; see also 3.3. The *Chronography* has been translated into English by E. R. A. Sewter as *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers* (Harmondsworth, 1966).

[7] Marcian Lib., Venice, Cod. Venet. Marc. graec., 17, fo. 1.

[8] C. De Boor, *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 20-1.

[9] I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus* . . . (Bonn, 1838), 4.26.

[10] *Ibid.*, 6.14; I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus* (Bonn, 1829), ii, p. 326.

[11] *Geoponica*, Praef., §4.

[12] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 5.9, 15.7 The Alexiad has been translated into English by E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969).

[13] His works other than his religious poetry were published by P. de Lagarde, *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Hist. phil. Klasse*, xxviii (1881). Psellus's encomium on him is to be found in K. Sathas, *Mesaiōnikē Bibliothēkē*, v (Venice, 1876), pp. 142 ff.

[14] E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, i (Milan, 1936), p. 206.

[15] Sathas, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 145.

and so on. John Siceliotes was teaching rhetoric and writing commentaries on the second-century A.D. handbooks of Hermogenes when Psellus was still a youth.[17] If we go a further generation back we are in the world of Symeon the logothete, historian, hagiographer and literary purist. There were many schools in Constantinople in the time of Basil II, such as that of a certain Mousele,[18] mentioned casually in the life of a holy man, or that attended by the young Symeon who later achieved fame as a theologian and mystic.[19] But we know little of how they were organized. Most teachers we meet seem to teach at home — this is expressly stated by John Mauropous.[20] It seems that the system of state-supported institutions of education — we may call it a university if we like — of the later ninth and earlier tenth centuries had broken down in the absence of the necessary subventions, and that a return had been made to the classical pattern, whereby a teacher, a book and a room make a school. No continuity, no material resources, no regular programme of study, no salary — only fees, no assistant. The school depends on the teacher, not the teacher on the school.

In the matter of organization of education, the generation of Psellus saw a transformation. The details often escape us. But the letters of Psellus reveal a structured system of schools, in which teachers are promoted from lower to higher posts or transferred from one school to another;[21] they receive a regular salary from imperial funds;[22] there is some kind of general control — the teacher in the school of *Chalkoprateia* seems to act under Psellus's direction, and we find Psellus supporting a request to the patriarch by the master of the school of the *Theotokos tēs Diakonissēs* to be transferred to that of St. Peter[23] — and his support does not appear to be based, as so often with Psellus, on *philia* (friendship), the Byzantine equivalent of the old school tie.[24] Some poems of Christopher of Mitylene show us these schools competing in various scholarly exercises, in some kind of officially sponsored competition.[25] It has been

[17] C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1834), 6. v-xvi.

[18] *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv (1895), pp. 161-5.

[19] I. Hausherr, *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicétas Stéthatos* (Rome, 1928), p. 2.

[20] Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24, 40, 47.

[21] Sathas, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

[23] *Ibid.*, *epp.* 168, 164.

[24] F. Tinnefeld, "'Freundschaft' in den Briefen des Michael Psellos. Theorie und Wirklichkeit", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxii (1973), pp. 151-68.

[25] E. Kurtz, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 5-6.

suggested that teachers were organized in a guild like lawyers, goldsmiths, fishmongers and other providers of essential services in the middle Byzantine period.[26]

We are much better informed on the two institutions of higher education founded by Constantine IX Monomachus in 1045, the school of law and the school of philosophy, the moving spirit behind both of which was John Mauropous.[27] The school of law had a fixed location, in or by the church of St. George of the Mangana, a permanent head, and [redacted] library. There was no doubt a supporting staff also. The head of the school — the nomophylax — had an annual salary of 288 solidi — which was the minimum capital value of [redacted] military landholding maintaining a fully equipped cavalryman and two chargers — as well as receiving a silk robe and other presents every year, and rations in kind for his household and himself. Study was free, the period of study and the curriculum fixed. There were examinations, and a certificate was issued to those who successfully completed their studies. Naturally law had been studied in Constantinople before Constantine Monomachus. But it was done on a kind of apprenticeship system, often unregulated and unexamined, and with no guarantee of competence on the part of the teachers. The guild of attorneys attested in the ninth century seems to have vanished by the eleventh.[28] We have not so much information on the school of philosophy, of which Psellus was head, with the grandiloquent title of "Consul of the Philosophers". It doubtless closely resembled the school of law. In both cases a permanent institution, with premises, a constitution, a programme of teaching, a library, replaces a kind of cottage industry teaching by individual schoolmasters. The school as an institution replaces the school depending on [redacted] teacher.

But the content of education is far more important than its organization. Now it must be admitted that in large measure the schools of Psellus's generation followed traditional methods. The same texts

[26] Speck, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel*, pp. 36-50.

[27] Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, pp. 195-202; A. Salač, *Novella constitutio saeculi XI medii* (Prague, 1954), pp. 16-37; F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 24 ff.; K. Bonis, *Ioannēs ho Xiphilinos, ho nomophylax, ho monachos, ho patriarchēs kai hē epochē autou* (Athens, 1937); C. Zervos, *Un Philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle. Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), p. 90; J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 52 ff.

[28] J. Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet* (Geneva, 1893), pp. 13-22; M. Ya. Syuzyumov, *Vizantijskaya Kniga Eparkha* [The Byzantine Book of the Prefect] (Moscow, 1962), pp. 107-27; Lemerle, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin*, pp. 261-3; S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Demokratia and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xvii (1963), pp. 287-314; Speck, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

were read, the same textbooks studied, the schoolmaster regurgitated what he had learnt from his own teacher. The treatises on rhetoric of John Siceliotes and of John Doxopatres (who is often confused with him) give us an idea of this traditional education in the eleventh century — Prolegomena to Rhetoric, and long commentaries on the handbooks of Hermogenes and Aphthonius.[29] Rich in quotations from their predecessors, systematically arranged, obsessed by technical trivialities, the work of these scholars represents a kind of hypertrophy of the Hellenistic manual of instruction.[30] There were, however, some technical innovations. First of all schedography, that is the teaching of grammar through specially composed texts in prose and verse instead of by study of the traditional literary texts.[31] This made possible [redacted] systematic and progressive approach to the difficulties of literary Greek, and it enabled the progress of pupils to be assessed more easily. Both Michael Psellus and John Mauropous practised schedography.[32] Then there was teaching by discussion of a problem posed by a pupil. Many texts attributed to Michael Psellus or John Italus are of this form, for example the chapters of Psellus's *De omnifaria doctrina*, the corpus of answers to miscellaneous questions in a Bodleian manuscript,[33] some of which at least are certainly by Psellus, most of the surviving treatises of John Italus. There are a great number of short texts of this character — whose authorship and date are usually uncertain — that remain unpublished. Now the form of these texts is no doubt often conventional. We can hardly suppose that teachers waited for their pupils to ask questions; they gave a systematic exposition of their subject matter. And yet it is a convention which must reflect reality. Instead of passing on to the pupil information given once and for all and unchangeable, people were beginning to recognize that education depends on [redacted] complex exchange of ideas and feelings between

[29] Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, 2.69-564, 6.1-32, 56-504; J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia*, iv (Oxford, 1837), pp. 155-69.

[30] Cf. most recently G. L. Koustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessalonike, 1973).

[31] K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1897), pp. 590-1; Fuchs, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-9; S. D. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* (Odessa, 1905), pp. 413-36; N. Festa, "Longibardos", *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, ix (1931), pp. 101-22; G. Schirò, "La schedografia a Bisanzio nei secoli XI-XII [redacted] la scuola dei SS. XL. Martiri", *Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata*, iii (1949), pp. 11-29; Browning, "Ho Markianos hellēnikos kōdikas XI.31 kai hē Byzantinē schedographia".

[redacted] Kurtz and Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, ii (Milan, 1940), *ep.* 16; Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, no. 68, p. 37.

[33] Bodleian Lib., Oxford, MS. Baroccianus 131.

teacher and pupil, that the process of discovering the truth, as Plato well knew, could not always be determined in advance, that men could only pass on the culture they had inherited by treating it with a freedom which was occasionally creative. There is a striking contrast with the encyclopaedism of the tenth century, in which the personality of the compiler, like that of the reader, counted for nothing.[34]

We find an even more striking change when we leave the techniques of pedagogy and turn to the content and the spirit of education. For Psellus and his coevals the tradition of Greek antiquity is not something to be painfully reconstructed from fragments, nor is it something to be handled with care, because impregnated with pre-Christian ideas. It was rather part of their own environment, in which they felt entirely at ease. It is interesting that for Psellus the word "Hellene" and its derivatives are almost always terms of praise — Hellenic, not heathen.[35] In literature — and Psellus was above all things a man of letters — they thought they could vie with the ancients. And when it came to thought about the universe, they wanted to recreate philosophy as an autonomous science with its own methods and its own objects of study, as it had flourished, so they thought, in the past. Men were no longer content with the kind of rehash of epitomes of Porphyry's commentary on the *Categories* of Aristotle, sometimes made more acceptable to Christian readers by the substitution of the name Peter for that of Socrates in the model syllogisms.[36]

Psellus, like all his fellows, was a good Christian. There was nothing else to be, except a Moslem or a Jew, and this would have been absurd. But his attitude to his faith was essentially a rational and intellectual one. He had no leanings towards mysticism, and he firmly opposed the occultism and spirit-raising, sometimes superficially christianized, which was frequent in his time, and which he saw as contrary alike to reason and to faith.[37] He was convinced that the heritage of Greek antiquity, as part of the created world,

[34] Lemerle, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-300; A. J. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London, 1973), pp. 575-605.
[35] K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1954), p. 46.
[36] M. Roueché, "Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxiii (1974), pp. 61-76.
[37] B. Tatakis, *La Philosophie byzantine*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1959), pp. 175-6; E. des Places, "Le Renouveau platonicien du XI^e siècle: Michel Psellos et les Oracles Chaldaiques", *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1966, pp. 313-24; U. Criscuolo, *Michele Psello: Epistola a Giovanni Xifilino* (Naples, 1973), pp. 31-43.

could not be in contradiction with Christian revelation, provided both were understood correctly. Understanding could be attained only by using the weapons of dialectic developed by the philosophers of antiquity. Speaking of the intellectual climate of his youth he says:

> The study of questions drawn from our Holy Scriptures was put well in the forefront; but most of the problems discussed remained unsolved. The objects of our researches were such matters as continence and conception, virginity and childbirth, and divers supernatural matters. It all had a veneer of philosophy, but it was only a mask and a false appearance, and not a genuine search for and test of the truth.[38]

What he wanted was that the techniques of philosophical inquiry should be applied to the propositions of theology, and he was sure that in the end his faith must emerge confirmed, provided one understood it with profundity, and not superficially. In a famous letter — which begins "Plato is mine" — he defends his position to his friend the ex-patriarch John Xiphilinus.[39] He has followed the example of the Fathers of the Church, he says in borrowing from Plato and Chrysippus. As for his syllogistic style of argument, syllogisms are neither heretical dogmas nor philosophical quirks, but an instrument of truth for finding what one seeks.[40] He will continue to reason, to scrutinize nature, to delight in fine style, because he is sure that these activities, so far from being an obstacle to virtue, can lead the human spirit to higher things. This is the spirit in which Psellus's older friend John Mauropous prays to God in a poem to save from damnation Plato and Plutarch.[41] It is directly opposed to some of the mystical and anti-intellectual tendencies of the age, represented in different ways by Symeon the New Theologian, by Nicetas Stethatos, and in a way by Psellus's erstwhile colleague John Xiphilinus.

Psellus was above all a man of letters, delighting in fine language, sometimes childishly vain about his immense but often superficial learning, and he had a talent for popularization. He was also a skilful politician. In spite of a short period of disgrace, during which he was exiled to a monastery in the country, he dominated the intellectual and sometimes the political life of Constantinople for nearly fifty years. His successor in the chair of philosophy, John Italus,

[38] Psellus, *Chronography*, 3.3
[39] Edited, with valuable introduction, by Criscuolo, *op. cit.*
[40] §46 in Criscuolo's edition.
[41] Lagarde, *Abhdl. Göttingen, Hist.-phil. Kl.*, xviii (1881), no. 43, p. 24.

was a man of a very different stamp.[42] Son of a Norman mercenary in Byzantine south Italy and of a local woman, he spent his childhood in Sicily. When he came to Constantinople about 1049 he was already thirty years old. He seems to have come to the capital in order to study, like so many others before and after him. He began by picking up such teaching as he could. But it was as a student of Psellus — a mature student if ever there was one — that he made direct contact with Byzantine Neoplatonism. He made rapid progress, as a rather grudging letter of recommendation by Psellus testifies, and in due course succeeded his master as "Consul of the Philosophers". The date of his succession is disputed. One must, I think, reject Ioannou's proposed date of 1054-5, at the time of Psellus's brief disgrace and exile.[43] Some time early in the reign of Michael VII Dukas (1071-8) seems a much more likely date. He had certainly some years as a teacher behind him when he was promoted to the highest position, years which we can only dimly discern through allusions by historians and in official documents.

Unlike Psellus, John Italus was neither a man of letters nor a politician. We see him only through hostile eyes. But it is clear that he was a philosopher, a logician, a dialectician, a man with a passion for argument and a fervour for truth, as he saw it. He had to teach rhetoric too, in the course of his career, but he made it the object of a kind of dialectical analysis instead of treating it in the discursive fashion of his predecessors. Everything was reduced to order by his clear and pityless mind. Far more than Psellus, he wished to develop an autonomous philosophy and to pursue its implications even in those spheres traditionally reserved for theology. His surviving writings are dry and dense. And Anna Comnena remarks that he never mastered the refinements of literary Greek. Yet he was by all accounts a brilliant teacher, and enthralled his audience of young men. A recent study suggests that he was appointed because he had something new to say to the young intellectuals of Constantinople.[44] This is probably projecting student power too far back in history. A more likely explanation lies in his close

[42] On Italus, cf. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185*, pp. 89-101; P. E. Stéphanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome, 1949); P. Ioannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz: Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (Ettal, 1959), pp. 9-30; Tatakis, *op. cit.*; N. Kechakmadze, *Ioane Italosis shemok'medeba* [The work of John Italus] (Tbilisi, 1970). There is need for a new study of the man and his works, some of which remain unpublished.

[43] Ioannou, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

relations with the Dukas family.[45] But he did have great influence among the many young men, often of modest origins, for whom study offered access to high positions in the service of state and church. "The young flocked to his lectures", says Anna Comnena, that most hostile of witnesses because of her loyalty to her father. In all the circumstances it was only to be expected that Italus would be accused of heresy, as Michael Psellus had been in his time. In fact he was arraigned in 1077, perhaps in part as a result of professional rivalries. It was not too serious. He had the support not only of his pupils and followers, but of the emperor Michael VII and his wife Mary of Alania. The ecclesiastical court returned a verdict of not guilty. It was about this time that a scholiast of the theologian Nicetas Stethatos, perhaps indeed Nicetas himself, added a note in one of his manuscripts referring to "the philosopher falsely so called" who teaches that the souls of men sleep after death.[46]

But the second trial of Italus was different. It was in 1082, after the accession of Alexius I Comnenus. Mary of Alania, widow of Italus's former protector and of his short-lived successor on the throne Nicephorus Botaneiates, was living under surveillance in a monastery. The provincial military aristocracy, or rather a group of factions among that aristocracy, was in power.[47] The old centralized bureaucracy with its rigidly ordered hierarchy of rank was shaken. The old system of ranks and titles was soon to be swept aside.[48] Power was often subject to devolution. Members of the new imperial family were in most key positions.[49] Taxes were farmed out, and no longer collected by government officials according to strict rules. There had been a purge of the civil service. Careers were no longer open to talents as before. Social mobility was reduced, or rather the rules were changed. There was discontent among the functionaries

[45] Stéphanou, *op. cit.*, p. 17; D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), pp. 45, 47.

[46] J. Darrouzès, *Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* (Paris, 1961), p. 136.

[47] On the conflict between the metropolitan civilian aristocracy, who monopolized palace and civil service posts, and the provincial military aristocracy, cf. R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin, 1956), i, pp. 15 ff.; R. Jenkins, *Cambridge Medieval History*, iv, pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 99 ff.; H. G. Beck, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (London, 1972), x, pp. 18 ff.; A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyj sostav gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* [The social composition of the Byzantine ruling class in the eleventh and twelfth centuries] (Moscow, 1974), *passim*, and particularly pp. 4 ff., 221-68. Kazhdan's study gives depth and nuance to what for earlier scholars had often been a somewhat schematic distinction.

[48] A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich, 1965), pp. 34-9.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-23.

who owed their positions to the Dukas ascendancy, and among the students who hoped to follow them. The Norman Robert Guiscard had established a bridge-head on Byzantine territory at Durazzo, and claimed to be the champion of legitimacy, as the leaders of the Fourth Crusade were to do one hundred and twenty years later. He was preparing to advance on Constantinople, and many in the city were awaiting a *coup d'état*, particularly among the civil aristocracy, which distrusted the provincial soldiers. Italus himself was of Norman origin. And he had been the envoy of Michael VII to Guiscard in Italy, probably about 1071. Anna Comnena does not mince her words: he had "betrayed his country".[50] He was vulnerable on every count. And by attacking him Alexius Comnenus would throw doubt on the sincerity of all his adherents, and would become himself the champion of orthodoxy, and by implication of legitimacy. It was the classical appeal to the silent majority. Anna Comnena reveals the political background to his trial when she says that Italus roused the ignorant to disorder and turned his pupils into rebels.[51]

He was hailed before a mixed tribunal of laymen and clergy, presided over by the emperor himself, which in effect found him guilty. Only then was the synod of bishops convened to examine his case. The legality of the whole proceeding is open to doubt, especially as he seems to have been acquitted on the same charges at his earlier trial. Some members of the synod were uneasy, but the protesters were threatened with anathema. The evidence against him included passages from his writings and statements of witnesses, including one who swore that he had seen Italus throw a stone at an icon![52] He was condemned on eleven counts, which are still read out annually in orthodox churches. They include the application of dialectic to the study of the nature of Christ, belief in the eternity of matter, defence of "the sages of the Hellenes" who had been condemned by the councils and fathers of the church, criticisms of miracles, study of Greek classics "seriously", belief in Platonic ideas, criticism of the dogma of the resurrection of the body, and so on.[53] It is a frightening catalogue.

Italus was obliged to admit his guilt. During his trial a hostile

[50] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 5.8.
[51] *Ibid.*, 5.9.4.
[52] F. I. Uspenskij, "Deloproizvodstvo po obvineniyu Ioanna Itala v eresi" [The proceedings of the trial of John Italus for heresy], *Izvestiya Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, ii (1897), pp. 36-7.
[53] J. Gouillard, "Le Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie", *Travaux et Mémoires*, ii (1967), pp. 56-61.

crowd tried to lynch him and he had to be rescued by the emperor's soldiers. He was exiled to a monastery, it appears. In fact he disappears after his trial. Historians have wondered whether he returned to his native Italy, whether he was restored to his position, and so on. Vain speculations. John Italus was broken, and no one much cared what happened to him. Several of his pupils were arraigned along with him, but none of them was condemned. The lesson had been learnt.

The condemnation of John Italus, the motives of which were political rather than scientific, upset the delicate balance between intellect and faith in Byzantium, re-established control by the Janus-headed state and church on the content of education, and set limits to the speculations of reason. I believe that this event more than any other marks the beginning of the emasculation of Byzantine culture so characteristic of the age of the Comneni.[54] The awakening of the spirit which we see in the eleventh century was smothered. Let us look first at the organization of education. The Patriarchal School as we know it till 1204 dates from the end of the eleventh century. Several of the schools with which Psellus was concerned — and he was never himself an ecclesiastical official — belong to the patriarchate in the twelfth century, for example those of Chalkoprateia or of St. Peter. Nicetas of Heraclea began as "proximos" (deputy head) of the school of Chalkoprateia, and by the 1180s was "deacon and teacher of the Great Church".[55] Then there is the new office of "Master of the Rhetoricians", to which appointment is made by the patriarch. The first mention of it occurs in 1082, the year of the condemnation of Italus.[56] Most important of all the innovations was the triad at the head of the Patriarchal School — the teachers of the Psalter, the Apostle and the Gospel. H. G. Beck has recently shown what a break this represented with tradition in Byzantium, where there had never been any formal or institutional teaching of theology.[57] The result of all these measures was to give the church

[54] A. P. Kazhdan, "Zagadka Komninov" [The riddle of the Comneni], *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, xxv (1964), pp. 53-98.
[55] Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century", pp. 15-17; A. Tovar, "Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine", *Classical Studies presented to B. E. Perry* (Urbana, Ill., 1969), pp. 223-35.
[56] Uspenskij, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[57] H. G. Beck, "Bildung und Theologie im frühmittelalterlichen Byzanz", *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 69-81. For a recent suggestion that Beck's view of the matter is too rigid and uncompromising, cf. Maria Dora Spadaro, "Sull'insegnamento di Fozio e sull'Accademia Patriarcale", *Siculorum Gymnasium*, xxvi (1973), pp. 286-304.

a hold on the schools which produced officials, and to establish as the crown of the education of future ecclesiastics a prestigious but unadventurous faculty of theology.

Yet the school of philosophy founded by Constantine IX continued in existence. Theodore of Smyrna, a pupil of John Italus, succeeded him as "Consul of the Philosophers" and was still in office twenty years later. We meet him in Hades in a Byzantine satire, the *Timarion*, of which an admirable edition has just been published by Roberto Romano. He seems to have been a genial, unprovocative character, who trod on no one's toes. And he was bed-ridden by arthritis in his later years, which may explain his deep interest in medicine. His survey of the physical doctrines of the ancients still awaits an editor. We learn that he took part in the disputes between the churches of Constantinople and Rome, which so obsessed Byzantine intellectual life from the end of the eleventh century.[58] After Theodore's death the chair seems to have remained vacant for half a century. About 1166 it was re-established, and Michael of Anchialos, a future patriarch (1169-77) was appointed "Consul of the Philosophers". In his inaugural lecture — a curious document — he promises to subordinate philosophy to theology and to limit himself to the exposition of Aristotle, whom he calls "the dark Sphinx from Stagira".[59] The implication is that he will avoid as far as he can the Neoplatonizing tradition represented by Psellus and Italus. We do not know whether Michael had a successor in the chair of philosophy, but it seems unlikely.

Men nevertheless went on studying philosophy in Constantinople. Michael Italicus, Theodore Prodromus, Michael Choniates among other twelfth-century figures, speak of it as part of their studies. But there was — apart from a few years in the 1160s — no officially sponsored and funded chair of philosophy. And those who did engage in philosophy tended to stick to the exegesis of Aristotle. Eustratius of Nicaea, a pupil of Italus and in his youth "proximos" of the school of St. Theodore, wrote commentaries on the Ethics and the logical works.[60] We shall meet him again. Michael of Ephesus, a pupil of Psellus, commented on theological, ethical and zoological works of the master.[61] He, and probably Eustratius too, belonged to

[58] L. Sternbach, *Nicolai Calliclis carmina* (Krakow, 1903), pp. 61-4; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 616-17; R. Romano, *Timarione* (Naples, 1974), p. 138.

[59] R. Browning, "A New Source on Byzantine-Hungarian Relations in the Twelfth Century: The Inaugural Lecture of Michael ho tou Anchialou as hypatos tōn philosophōn", *Balkan Studies*, ii (1961), pp. 173-214.

[60] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, xx, xxi.1.

[61] *Ibid.*, xx, xxii.1.

an Aristotelian circle under the patronage of Anna Comnena.[62] In the middle of the century a certain Stephen wrote a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[63] From the surviving fragments we learn that he was a teacher, and that he had published earlier commentaries on the Ethics, and on the rhetorical handbooks of Hermogenes and Aphthonius. A rhetorician, therefore, rather than a philosopher. It is no accident that this twelfth-century Aristotelian renaissance concerns itself with texts rarely commented on before — like the zoological treatises — but at the same time avoids the Physics and the Metaphysics, in which Aristotle discusses the nature of the universe. Yet some must have interested themselves in such matters. About the middle of the century Nicolaus of Methone, one of the leading theologians of the time, saw fit to refute in great detail the doctrines of Proclus on the eternity of the universe.[64] These doctrines, he declared, met with the approval of some of his contemporaries. In spite of official discouragement the heritage of the generation of Psellus and Italus could not be so easily suppressed.

In fact there was little direct repression. Few were exiled, no one condemned to death for his philosophical views. But the intellectual climate, the structure of the education of the élite, the prospects of a career, all conspired to turn the young away from a dangerously critical attitude, and towards an elegant, learned and sterile mandarinism.

If these means of dissuasion were not enough, other deterrents were available to the authorities. John Italus had been effectively reduced to silence in 1082. His pupils were put on trial, and all those who went to his house or received him in theirs for instruction were to be permanently expelled from the capital.[65] Five years later a monk Nilus was condemned for an "intellectual" heresy concerning the nature of Christ, which seems to arise out of philosophical arguments.[66] In 1117, towards the end of Alexius I's reign, it was

[62] R. Browning, "An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena", *Proc. Cambridge Philological Soc.*, clxxxviii (1962), pp. 6-8.

[63] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, xxi.2. 263-322.

[64] Nicolaus of Methone, "Refutation of the Elements of Theology of Proclus", ed. J. Th. Vömel as vol. iv (Frankfurt, 1822) of F. Creuzer, *Procli Diadochi Initia philosophiae et theologiae*.

[65] Uspenskij, "Deloproizvodstvo po obvineniyu Ioanna Itala", p. 58.

[66] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 10.1; Gouillard, "Le Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie", pp. 60-9, 202-6, 299-303; F. I. Uspenskij, *Ocherki po istorii vizantijskoj obrazovannosti* [Sketches of the history of Byzantine education] (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 189-91; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 341.

the turn of Eustratius of Nicaea, pupil of Italus, erstwhile protégé of Mary of Alania, commentator on Aristotle, anti-Latin polemicist, and for long a friend of the emperor.[67] He was found guilty of errors regarding the incarnation. His principal opponent was Nicetas, bishop of Heraclea, a teacher like himself, but of grammar and theology. Eustratius admitted his error. Certain of his writings were ordered to be kept under lock and key in the patriarchate. The treatises falsely attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, which, he said, had led him into error, were publicly burned. Eustratius was a distinguished man with friends in high places, and he suffered no personal punishment. But in the decisions of the tribunal there was included an anathema upon those who constructed syllogisms on the indemonstrable principles of faith.[68] In 1156-7 there was another series of heresy trials of leading personalities of the intellectual world. Michael of Thessalonica, professor at the Patriarchal School, his colleague Nicephorus Basilakes, and several others were charged with errors concerning the nature of the Trinity.[69] It was something of a *cause célèbre*. Much admired by the young, Basilakes was a rhetorician of influence in the literary world. All of them seem to have been condemned, and Basilakes was perhaps exiled to Philippopolis, but shortly afterwards they were restored to their positions. Another defendant was Soterichos Panteugenes, who had expounded his doctrines on the relations of the persons of the Trinity in a Platonic dialogue, and whose heresy was linked by his adversaries with the Platonic doctrine of ideas. Soterichos, who had been a candidate for the patriarchate of Antioch, was declared unworthy to hold any ecclesiastical office. It was the end of his career. The results to be expected from speculation on matters of dogma had been demonstrated. In 1166 there was another series of trials of intellectual leaders, including dignitaries of the Great Church.[70]

[67] The documents concerning the trial are edited by P. Ioannou, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xlvii (1954), pp. 374-8, and *Revue des études byzantines*, x (1952), pp. 24-34. Cf. J. Dräseke, "Zu Eustratios von Nikäa", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, v (1896), pp. 319-36; Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, pp. 191-8; Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, pp. 618-19; Ya. N. Lyubarskij, *Anna Komnena: Aleksiada* (Moscow, 1965), p. 613; J. Darrouzès *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), pp. 276-305.

[68] S. Salaville, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scolastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1117", *Échos d'Orient*, xxix (1930), p. 153.

[69] Nicetas Choniates, *History*, 275.23 ff.; Cinnamus, *History*, 176; cf. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer* (Rome, 1956), i, p. 256; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, ii (Paris, 1912), pp. 639-52; A Garzya, "Precisazioni sul processo di Niceforo Basilace", *Byzantion*, xl (1970), pp. 309-16.

[70] Chalandon, *op. cit.*, pp. 639-52; L. Petit, "Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires", *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, xi (1904), pp. 489 ff.; P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xlviii (1955), pp. 339-68.

In 1168 a young teacher of the Patriarchal School was put on trial.[71] Leaving aside popular heresies like Bogomilism, I have counted about twenty-five trials for "intellectual" heresy in the age of the Comneni. And who knows how many more do not appear in our patchy records. This series of trials was something new. Men noted that between the age of Photius in the ninth century and that of Alexius Comnenus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there had been scarcely any trials for heresy.[72] This pressure upon the men of classical education was all very civilized. There were no tortures, and no one was burnt at the stake, as occasionally happened to adherents of the popular heresies. But the pressure on the young Byzantine student who wanted to have a successful career could not be ignored. The means of dissuasion may not have been either brutal or particularly efficient. But the dissuasion was real enough.

It is interesting to glance at Western Europe, and particularly at France and Italy, in the same period. We all know of the twelfth-century renaissance in the West, which preceded the thirteenth-century age of scholasticism and Gothic. Historians have often drawn comparisons between this movement and what was going on in Byzantium, and inquired whether there was any connection between the two.[73] The scrupulous search for channels through which ideas might pass between East and West has not yet led to significant results. Yet the two worlds were not sealed off from one another. It was easy enough to move from the one to the other. Most of those who made the move were soldiers. Intellectual contacts, at any rate on an official level, were more often hostile than friendly. Yet there were Byzantine men of education who were at home in the West, like the brother of Nicephorus Basilakes, who was "a Hellene among the Romans, a Roman among the Hellenes".[74]

[71] Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century", p. 21.

[72] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, Prol.: J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, cxxx, col. 21. On Alexius I's anti-heretical measures, cf. most recently A. A. Glavinas, *Hē epi Alexiou Komnenou (1087-1118) peri hierōn skeuōn, keimēliōn kai hagiōn eikonōn eris (1081-1095)* (Thessalonike, 1972), pp. 26-36.

[73] C. H. Haskins, "The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century", *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, xxv (1919), pp. 603-15; *idem*, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), *passim*; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1952), pp. 504-5; K. M. Setton, *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance* (Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., 100[1], Philadelphia, 1956), pp. 18 ff.; Uspenskij, *Ocherki*, pp. 163-70; A. P. Kazhdan in S. D. Skazkin (ed.), *Istoriya Vizantii* [A History of Byzantium], ii (Moscow, 1967), p. 366.

[74] W. Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinarum*, fasc. 2 (Petrograd, 1917), p. 235.

They do not, however, explain much. If there are common features in the two movements they are more likely to be due to developments in the two societies which provoked the same reaction than to the missionary influence of this or that individual. I wish only to draw attention to a few striking, if superficial, parallelisms, and to suggest certain factors of difference. We must also bear in mind that Byzantium and Western Europe were not alone. Ibn Rushd was developing the tradition of Greek philosophy in Cordoba — from which he was expelled under pressure from the Muslim ulema — at the same time as Psellus and Italus were teaching in Constantinople.

First of all, in West and East alike we encounter the institutionalization of the school and its corresponding change in scale. What happened in Byzantium has been recounted. In Italy and France in the eleventh century we find municipal or cathedral schools suddenly taking off and becoming the embryo of a university in the following century — like Bologna or Paris. Others flourished briefly then vanished, like Salerno or Chartres.[75] But they are signs of a qualitative change in answer to a world where men thought more, where there was a new market for education, where there was a sudden need of men of culture to operate a new and more complex structure of administration. The professor of world repute makes his appearance. Michael Psellus boasted of having pupils not merely from every region of the Byzantine empire, but from Egypt and India too. Lanfranc at Bec drew his pupils from every corner of Europe, including even teachers in other schools.[76] Fulbert of Chartres was a scholar on a European scale.[77]

There was the same renewal of interest in philosophy, which created problems for the Westerners, who had few of the essential texts. But it was precisely the philosophical awakening of the eleventh century which created the demand for translations satisfied in the twelfth. Why did men suddenly begin feverishly to translate Aristotle from Arabic and Greek just at this moment? The explanation is surely a change in demand, not one in supply. In the same way both societies displayed a renewed interest in Roman law, each in its own way — Irnerius and the Four Doctors at Bologna, at Constantinople the new faculty of law and a whole series of manuals — the *Peira*, the *Synopsis Maior*, the *Synopsis Minor*,

[75] R. Aigrain, *Histoire des Universités* (Paris, 1949), pp. 10-20.
[76] L. Genicot, *Contours of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), p. 156.
[77] R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1959), pp. 205-7; L. C. Mackinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Chicago, 1957).

the handbook of Attaleiates, the *Meditatio de Nudis Pactis* — and of commentaries on the legislation of Justinian.[78] Surely the explanation lies in the development of urban life and the growing complexity of commercial relations in both East and West.

Michael Psellus was conscious of a renaissance of culture in his own age, even if he attributes too great a rôle in that renaissance to himself. There was the same sense of change abroad in the West. Let us hear Guibert of Nogent, historian of the Crusades, born in 1053:

> Not long ago, and in part still in my time, there was such a shortage of grammarians that almost none could be found in the towns, and scarcely any in the cities. And the knowledge of those whom one chanced to find was slender, and not to be compared even with that of the wandering clerks of today.[79]

Guibert speaks of the wandering clerks of his own time, a kind of new intellectual proletariat. Are the youth who worshipped John Italus and hoped to make a career in the bureaux of the palace or the Great Church a comparable stratum of Byzantine society? In the West they are vagabonds, in the East they stay in Constantinople. Perhaps this reflects the political fragmentation of the feudal West and the centralization of power in Byzantium.

Both societies had a sense of the possibility of progress that had not been seen since the days of Seneca.[80] For Psellus and doubtless for others all problems were in principle soluble by rational thought according to the rules discovered by the ancients. The famous remark of Bernard of Chartres, that he and his contemporaries were like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants, and hence able to see further,[81] seems to me to express this same delicate balance between tradition and innovation, this sudden understanding that by using the heritage of the past one could go further than the men of the past.

In the West, as in Byzantium, there were conflicts and repressions. Berengarius of Tours (1010-83) was a contemporary of Psellus and Italus. Pupil of the great Fulbert of Chartres, he became head of

[78] H. J. Scheltema, "Byzantine Law", *The Cambridge Medieval History*, iv, pt. 2, pp. 70 ff.; K. Amantos, *Historia tou Byzantinou kratous*, ii, 2nd edn. (Athens, 1957), pp. 347-9; N. H. Svoronos, *La Synopsis Major des Basiliques et ses appendices* (Paris, 1964), pp. 141-88.
[79] Guibert de Nogent, *De Vita Sua*, ed. G. Bourgin (Paris, 1907), pp. 12-13.
[80] Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, 7.25.4: "A day will come in which the passage of time and long perseverance will bring to light those things which are now hidden. A single age is not enough for research into such great matters".
[81] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, 3.4, ed. C. C. J. Webb (London, 1929). The formulation is not unique in the middle ages: cf. R. Klibansky, "Standing on the Shoulders of Giants", *Isis*, xxvi (1936), pp. 147-9.

the school of Tours. By applying logic to the problems of theology he ended up by denying the real presence in the Eucharist. His doctrines were condemned by Pope Leo IX at the Council of Vercelli in 1050. Berengarius was obliged to renounce them publicly on several occasions, and was even imprisoned for a time by Henry I of France. He declares in one of his works that one must have recourse to dialectic in all things, for dialectic is reason, and it is in virtue of his reason that man was created in the image of God.[82] Psellus and Italus would have agreed with him. A little later Roscellin of Compiègne (*c.* 1050 - *c.* 1120) raised the problem of the nature of universals, which was so long to be at the centre of scholastic debate. The Council of Soissons condemned him in 1092 for making of the Trinity three distinct gods, and Anselm observed that his heresy was the result of his nominalist stance in philosophy.[83] Examples could be multiplied. Roscellin's greatest pupil, Peter Abelard, saw his teachings condemned. The differences between East and West are as important as the resemblances. The institutionalization of the school followed a variety of courses in Italy and France. Here a bishop gives the first impulse, there a prince. Sometimes a municipality provided funds and premises. Sometimes the students formed a corporation and hired the professors. In other cases the influence of a pope or an emperor might be decisive. Few of these schools long survived the eleventh century. Fewer still became the point of growth of a great university. All this reflects the political fragmentation of Western Europe, the relative independence of church and state, the different situation of cities north and south of the Alps, and so on. In Byzantium there was still only one source of patronage and initiative, and one city in which such a development was possible. The distinction between church and state in Byzantium at this time was largely formal; there were no Guelphs nor Ghibellines in the East. It follows that the means of control and repression were more efficacious. A career interrupted in Constantinople could not be pursued elsewhere.

Both the stages in the development of educational institutions in Byzantium — the establishment of faculties of law and philosophy and later the centralization of higher education under the aegis of the church — were the work of the imperial government. This is what enabled the authorities to stifle philosophical speculation

[82] Southern, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-8; G. Leff, *Medieval Thought from Saint Augustine to Ockham* (London, 1958), pp. 95-7.
[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5; Haskins. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 349-53.

relatively easily. This is what rendered inevitable the brilliant, fragile, delicate and empty civilization of the long reign of Manuel Comnenus.

But we must not stop there. This cultural failure of nerve was surely part of a vaster and more complex process, by which Byzantium lost its dominant position in Europe and the Near East. Wherever one looks in the world of the Comneni one sees an incapacity to resolve the problems posed by history. The military crisis developed with headlong speed in the late eleventh century and the navy suddenly vanished. In the twelfth century the military crisis was compounded by a crisis of foreign policy; statesmen no longer knew who the enemy was, as they floundered between Crusaders, Normans, Pechenegs and Seljuks. A trade crisis transformed the positive balance into a negative one, and the gold of Byzantium drained off to the West. The crisis of education is another facet of the same catastrophic failure to adapt to a changing world. Taken together, all these crises perhaps led inevitably to the twilight of the gods of 1204. But it seems that long before that fatal date most of the gods of Hellas had died a natural death.

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XVI

IL CODICE MARCIANO GR. XI.31 E LA SCHEDOGRAFIA BIZANTINA

Il codice Marciano gr. XI.31 sarà fra poco oggetto di una descrizione dettagliata e definitiva per mano dello stimato collega Elpidio Mioni, nel prossimo volume del nuovo catalogo dei manoscritti greci della Biblioteca. Quindi rinunzio a dare un elenco completo dei testi che contiene, elenco che sarebbe evidentemente provvisorio e lacunoso. Voglio piuttosto attrarre l'attenzione dei miei lettori su una serie di piccoli testi, che occupano i fogli 275-300 del manoscritto, nella speranza che questo mio studio possa servire come complemento al catalogo che sta per essere pubblicato.

Il manoscritto, che fu legato alla Marciana dal Morelli nel 1817, comprende materiale principalmente retorico-grammaticale. Al foglio 275, preceduta da una croce, e senza titolo generale, comincia una serie di testi, i quali tutti, eccetto il primo, hanno la particolarità di cominciare in prosa e finire con qualche verso dodecasillabo. E tutti, a parte qualche eccezione dovuta probabilmente al caso, sono preceduti dal nome dell'autore – o piuttosto dovrebbero esserlo, perché nella maggioranza dei casi troviamo in luogo di titolo l'articolo τοῦ seguito da uno spazio vuoto. La spiegazione più verosimile è che l'esemplare non contenesse in ogni caso il nome dell'autore, ma che il copista sperasse scoprirlo da un'altra fonte onde aggiungerlo al suo testo. Ecco l'elenco dei nomi:

Τοῦ καυθέντος	f. 275
Τοῦ Περιβλεπτηνοῦ	f. 278, 280, 282v, 284, 289, 292, 293
Τοῦ Κερκύρων (κυροῦ Βασιλείου)	f. 280v, 282v, 285v, 288, 291, 298v
Τοῦ Μανασσῆ	fol. 290v

Parleremo in seguito di questi nomi. Ma per il momento ten-

tiamo di risolvere il problema del carattere dei testi stessi. La materia è varia – storie di santi, mitologia classica, proverbi, aneddoti ed apoftegmi di personaggi storici, etica popolare, encomi di defunti, elaborazioni retoriche ecc. Ma la situazione che rispecchiano è quella della scuola; sono le parole d'un maestro che si rivolge ai suoi allievi o a qualcuno di essi. Ecco qualche esempio:

Ὠλίσθησε μὲν διὰ σὲ καὶ ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος, ὦ Ἰωάννη. fol. 276
Πρὸ μικροῦ, παῖδες, τοῖς ὑμῶν τελεωτέροις τὸν τῶν ἀγώνων προκαταγγείλας καιρόν, καθ' ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀσπασάμενοι πόνων ἔπαθλα δέχονται τὸν διεγηγερμένον βίον, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐρραστωνευμένον ἀντὶ τὰ τῆς ῥαθυμίας λαμβάνουσιν ἐπίχειρα· fol. 280
Οὐ καιρῷ τῷ νῦν ἀποτείνων λόγον † ἐπὶ ἠχὸς † ἄρξομαι λέγειν, ἄθροισμα νέων. fol. 281

forse si deve leggere ἐπὶ μῆκος

Ἐπειδήπερ οἴομαι φίλον τὸ μοχθεῖν περὶ λόγους, νέων ὁμήγυρις fol. 282v
Οἶδα ὡς κατέσχον πέδαι σχεδογράφοι πρὸ μικροῦ ἐνίους ὑμῶν αἱ † ἀνίας †, ἡνίκα τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁδεῦσαι ζητοῦντας ἀπεπεμψάμην μικράν τινα πορείαν τὸν ὀφειλημένον λόγον μὴ δυσωπηθείς. fol. 293v
Εἰ καὶ ἀποδημεῖ † αμφερη † νέοι φιλομαθέστατοι ὁ μέγιστος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἥκειν οὐ παραιτούμενος. fol. 299v-300

È evidente che ci troviamo davanti a una raccolta di esempi di schedografia bizantina, cioè di testi composti e dettati dal maestro, che poi erano oggetto d'un commento grammaticale, stilistico, e eventualmente storico.[1]

I migliori maestri solevano comporre i propri testi, basandosi su un episodio realmente avvenuto nella scuola o fuori, sulla vita del santo di cui si celebrava la festa, su un'esperienza personale, ecc.; così richiamando l'interesse degli allievi. I peggiori – e

1. Sulla schedografia v. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München 1897, 590-591; F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1916, 45-49; S.D. Papadimitriou, *Feodor Prodrom*, Odessa 1905, 413-436; N. Festa, *Longibardos*, « Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher », 9 (1931), 101-122; G. Schirò, *La schedografia a Bisanzio nei secoli XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri*, « Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata », 3 (1949), 11-29.

chissà se non costituissero sempre la maggioranza – si contentavano di dettare un testo già composto da altri, così come non pochi preti preferivano ripetere le omelie dei Padri della Chiesa piuttosto che comporne delle nuove. Con ciò si spiega l'utilità di raccolte di schedografie, come questa che stiamo studiando.

La nostra non è la sola che si conosca. Nel codice Laurenziano conventi soppressi 2, scritto da un certo Barlaam hieromonachus nel trecento, si trova dal foglio 199 in poi una serie di testi che il Rostagno e il Festa caratterizzano come 'epistulae ad Nicolaum quendam'.[1] Ma basta un'occhiata per assicurarci che si tratta di una raccolta schedografica. Di nuovo i testi cominciano in prosa e finiscono in versi dodecasillabi: di nuovo la varietà di temi; di nuovo la parola viene rivolta a un uditorio scolastico; ecco una scelta di esempi:

Ἐπειδήπερ τὰ ἐνταῦθα κατέλαβες, ὦ φιλολογώτατε παῖ fol. 200
Φέρε δὴ τὸν Αἰσώπειον ὄνον λαβὴν λόγων ποιησώμεθα fol. 200v
Ἥκω καὶ πάλιν, ὦ προσφιλέστατε παῖ, προθεῖναί σοι τράπεζαν fol. 200v
Ἐκ τῆς ἑορτῆς σοὶ μὲν τὸ ἀγώνισμα, ὦ φίλε παῖ fol. 201v
Ἴδ' εἰς σχεδικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπόδυθι καὶ μὴ δειλιάσῃς fol. 203v
Τὸ ἑστίαμα σήμερον, ὦ νεολαία, ὁ θαυματουργός σοι φαινέτω Νικόλαος fol. 212

Anche parecchi fra questi testi sono accompagnati dai nomi degli autori, cioè:

Τοῦ νυνὶ μαΐστορος κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Νερετηνοῦ	fol. 204
Τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου	fol. 205
Τοῦ Εὐγενείου κυροῦ Νικήτα	fol. 206
Τοῦ κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Τραπεζοῦντος	fol. 207v
Τοῦ Περιβλεπτηνοῦ	fol. 209
Τοῦ Ῥόδου	fol. 212
Τοῦ Κορίνθου	fol. 212
Τοῦ καυθέντος κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τῶν Μύρων	fol. 213
Τοῦ Κύπρου κυροῦ Βασιλείου	fol. 213

1. E. Rostagno-N. Festa, *Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani*, « Studi Italiani », 1 (1893), 131-132.

Abbiamo già incontrato due di questi personaggi, il Peribleptenos e il « Bruciato », del quale apprendiamo adesso per la prima volta il nome e il titolo vescovile.

Un'altra raccolta dello stesso genere si trova in un codice Parigino, il Paris. gr. 2556, dal foglio 79 in poi. I testi mostrano la stessa successione di prosa e versi, la stessa scelta di temi – un discorso ad Alessandro Magno dopo la sua morte, la storia di Giona, la festa della Presentazione della Vergine, un encomio indirizzato ad un certo Giovanni, protonotario e scevofilace, la vita di S. Giovanni Crisostomo, una preghiera a S. Andrea, la vita di Omero, la vita di S. Bonifazio, ecc., lo stesso rivolgersi agli allievi, per esempio: νέων σύλλογε (fol. 79), ὦ χορὲ νέων (fol. 84). Qui la maggioranza dei testi ha un'attribuzione, cioè:

Κυροῦ Νικήτου τοῦ Εὐγενειανοῦ fol. 79 (il legatore ha tagliato il resto)

Τοῦ Βα . . . βρω . . .	fol. 80
Τοῦ Ἁγιοτεσσερακοντίτου μαίστορος Γεωργίου	fol. 81
Τοῦ μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωαννικίου	fol. 82
Τοῦ κυροῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Σκουταριώτη	fol. 82v
Τοῦ Προδρόμου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου	fol. 83, 84v, 86

Anche qui incontriamo due vecchi amici, perché, come vedremo, il Hagiotessaracontites non è altro che il Bruciato. Nel manoscritto Parigino la schedografia è preceduta da un commento allegorizzante ai primi dodici canti dell'Iliade, che sembra essere inedito (fol. 29-79), e da un trattato sulla sintassi di Michele Sincello di Gerusalemme (fol. 1-28).[1] Ma poiché questa prima parte del codice è scritta da un'altra mano, e la seconda parte è acefala, dobbiamo considerare con una certa cautela l'ipotesi di un legame fra questi testi e la raccolta schedografica.

In fine, in un codice di Monaco, il Monacensis gr. 201, c'è una raccolta simile, dalla quale apprendiamo ancora parecchi nomi di schedografici, cioè:

1. Su Michele Sincello v. H.G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, 503-504. Il trattato sulla sintassi sembra essere sconosciuto.

Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου	fol. 97, 138, 193
Τοῦ Κατωτικοῦ κυροῦ Στεφάνου	fol. 97
Τοῦ Κυπρίου (sic) κυροῦ Βαρνάβα	fol. 97
Τοῦ Καλοήθη κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου	fol. 140
Σκουταριώτου Νικήτα	fol. 133
Τοῦ φιλοσοφωτάτου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου	fol. 134, 135, 136, 137

Tutte e quattro le raccolte mostrano un'ortografia piena di errori e un testo corrottissimo. Sono senza dubbio l'ultima tappa di una lunga serie di trascrizioni, e rappresentano il materiale pedagogico utilizzato da maestri umili e senza pretese nella prima metà del trecento. Ma vediamo se possiamo identificare e datare il circolo in cui questi testi vennero dettati per la prima volta. Elenchiamo ancora una volta i nomi degli autori:

Basilio di Cipro
Barnaba di Cipro (se non si tratta di uno sbaglio)
Basilio di Corcira
Costantino Caloethes
Giorgio
Giorgio di Mira, il Bruciato
Giorgio Hagiotesseracontites
Ioannicio il monaco
Manasse
Niceta Eugeniano
Niceta Scutariota
Periblepteno
Stefano Nereteno
Stefano di Trapezunte
Stefano Catotico
Teodoro Prodromo
il vescovo di Corinto
il vescovo di Rodi

Ometto il mutilato Ba . . . bro
Fra questi il meglio conosciuto è Teodoro Prodromo.

Il Papadimitriu ha accennato alla sua attività schedografica.[1]

1. Un accenno che è sfuggito all'attenzione del Papadimitriu si trova nel codice Laurenziano conv. soppr. 627, fol. 21v, dove un poemetto del Prodromo

E infatti il suo allievo e amico Niceta Eugeniano, nell'encomio funebre che scrisse per il maestro defunto, menziona in primo luogo i suoi σχέδη.[1] Ho già suggerito che il Prodromo fosse professore nella Scuola Patriarcale, e particolarmente che verso il 1143 insegnasse nella chiesa dei SS. Pietro e Paolo nell'Orphanotropheion[2] dove si trovava allora la sezione di retorica – e forse anche di grammatica – della Scuola Patriarcale. Di Niceta Eugeniano, autore del romanzo sofistico di Drosilla e Caricle, non sappiamo che sia stato professore di retorica. Ma nel suo encomio di Prodromo accenna ai suoi propri σχέδη, dunque è verosimile che anche la sua carriera sia stata quella di un maestro di scuola, e che egli sia diventato collega del suo maestro Prodromo.

Quattro dei nostri piccoli testi si attribuiscono nei manoscritti a Costantino Manasse (il prenome è fornito dal codice di Monaco). Dopo avere incontrato l'autore di uno dei romanzi sofistici bizantini non siamo sorpresi di incontrare l'autore di quello intitolato Aristandro e Callitea, del quale possediamo soltanto frammenti. Costantino Manasse fu anche l'autore di un racconto di viaggi ad Antiochia, Gerusalemme e Tripoli (il Hodoiporikon), di una serie di discorsi, e soprattutto di una cronaca in versi politici che fece fortuna più tardi; perché la traduzione slava, fatta in Bulgaria verso il 1336, fu accompagnata da un ciclo di illustrazioni, importantissime per la storia dell'arte medioevale. Per quanto riguarda la vita di Manasse sappiamo che fu segretario imperiale sotto Manuele I negli anni '60 e '70 del dodicesimo secolo, che più avanti godé il patrocinio della Sebastocratorissa Irene, vedova di Andronico Comneno, alla quale dedicò la sua cronaca, e con ogni probabilità morì nel 1187 come Metropolita di Naupatto.[3] Più giovane di una trentina di anni del Prodromo, Manasse, come lui, era poeta e oratore di corte. Che abbia lavorato un certo tempo come professore di retorica

è intitolato: Στίχοι τοῦ Προδρόμου πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόλαον ἀπὸ σχέδους; cioè quei versi terminavano uno σχέδος.

1. Ed. L. Petit, « Vizantiiskii Vremennik », 9 (1903), 7-18.

2. R. Browning, *The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century*, « Byzantion », 33 (1963), 22-23.

3. Su questa identificazione v. N.A. Bees, *Manassis, der Metropolit von Naupaktos ist identisch mit dem Schriftsteller Konstantinos Manassis*, « Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher », 7 (1928/29), 119-130.

o di grammatica non è strano; e il fatto che terminò la vita come Metropolita suggerisce che abbia avuto legame colla Scuola Patriarcale, perché l'elevazione all'episcopato era la conclusione normale di una carriera svoltasi in quella scuola.

Stefano di Trapezunte è senza dubbio da identificare con Stefano Skylitzes, maestro di Teodoro Prodromo, che ne scrisse l'encomio funebre.[1] Da questo encomio apprendiamo che Stefano, appena uscito dalla schedografia, venne nominato dall'imperatore ὕφεδρος della chiesa di S. Paolo (= la Chiesa di SS. Pietro e Paolo nell'Orphanotropheion) dopo qualche anno diventò πρόεδρος, e poi nel 1126, appena trentenne, fu elevato al trono metropolitano di Trapezunte.[2]

Basilio di Corcira è anche un personaggio conosciuto della seconda metà del secolo dodicesimo, dalla mano del quale abbiamo una serie di discorsi e lettere. Si chiamava Basilio Πεδιαδίτης, era maestro nella scuola di S. Paolo, e più tardi, verso la fine del secolo, diventò Metropolitano di Corcira.[3]

Costantino Caloethes[4] era oikumenikos didaskalos a Costantinopoli verso la fine del secolo, e più tardi, ma prima della Quarta Crociata, fu eletto Metropolitano di Madita nella penisola di Gallipoli. L'oikumenikos didaskalos era un professore di teologia nella Scuola Patriarcale. L'esercizio di schedografia che si trova nel codice di Monaco rappresenterà una tappa anteriore nella carriera del Caloethes.[5]

Finora tutti gli autori appartengono al secolo dodicesimo, e per tutti un legame colla Scuola Patriarcale è o certo o verosimile. Esaminiamo adesso il caso di Giorgio il Bruciato, personaggio finora sconosciuto. Nei manoscritti si chiama ὁ καυθείς

1. L. Petit, *Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzes, métropolitain de Trébizonde*, « Izvestija Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole », 8 (1902), 3 ss.

2. Fuchs, *Die hoheren Schulen* ..., 56; Browning, *The Patriarchal School* ..., « Byzantion », 33 (1963), 25-26.

3. Per una ricostruzione della sua carriera e un elenco delle sue opere v. Browning, *The Patriarchal School* ..., « Byzantion », 33 (1963), 20-22.

4. Il Hardt cita il nome come Καλοήρου al genitivo. Ma il nome è sconosciuto, e come sanno tutti coloro che l'hanno consultato, gli sbagli di lettura formicolano su ogni pagina del catalogo del dotto bavarese (I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum mss. graecorum bibliothecae regiae Bavaricae*, Monaco 1806-1812).

5. Su il Caloethes, v. Browning, *The Patriarchal School* ... « Byzantion », 32 (1962), 197.

(Marc. gr. XI.31, f. 275), ὁ καυθεὶς κυρὸς Γεώργιος ὁ τῶν Μύρων (Laur. conv. soppr. 2 f. 213), ὁ Ἁγιοτεσσερακοντίτης Γεώργιος ὁ καυθείς (Laur. conv. soppr. 627 fol. 22) ὁ Ἁγιοτεσσερακοντίτης μαίστωρ Γεώργιος (Paris. gr. 2556 f. 81), ai quali titoli si può aggiungere probabilmente Γεώργιος ὁ κεκαυμένος, autore di un poemetto mnemonico sui dodici segni dello zodiaco (Paris. gr. 1973 fol. Av). Il κυρὸς Γεώργιος cui va attribuita una schedografia nel Laur. conv. soppr. 2 fol. 205 è da identificare col Bruciato. Dai titoli si può ricostruire la sua carriera. Fu maestro alla scuola della Chiesa dei SS. XL Martiri, che faceva parte della Scuola Patriarcale, e dove nel secolo dodicesimo si insegnava la grammatica, e in specie la schedografia.[1] Un incidente in un incendio gli dette il soprannome di « Il Bruciato ». Come tanti dei suoi colleghi alla Scuola Patriarcale, concluse la sua carriera come Metropolita. Non abbiamo nessun elemento per datare la sua carriera. Ma la scuola dei ss. XL Martiri non viene menzionata né prima dell'undicesimo secolo, né dopo la presa di Costantinopoli da parte dei Crociati. È verosimile che anche Giorgio appartenesse al gruppo di maestri del secolo dodicesimo, i cui esercizi di schedografia furono apprezzati e copiati dalle generazioni seguenti. Sappiamo qualcosa sull'incidente che gli valse il soprannome, perché, da buon letterato bizantino, ne fece l'oggetto di una poesia che si conserva nel Marc. gr. XI.31 fol. 275 e nel Laur. conv. soppr. 627 fol. 22. Ecco il testo:

Στίχοι τοῦ Ἁγιοτεσσερακοντίτου Γεωργίου τοῦ καυθέντος, ἐκδοθέντες ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν Ἁγίων Μαρτύρων Μ'.

Οἴμοι τίς ὕδωρ τῇ κεφαλῇ μου βλύσει,
καὶ δακρύων ῥοῦν ταῖς κόραις μου πηγάσει,
ὡς τὸν μέσον καύσωνα τοῦτον εἰσβάσω,
τὴν ἀσθενῆ μ' αἴθειν τε καὶ δινεῖν φλόγα;
πάντως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἠγνόησεν ὡς ἔτι
τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρῶτ' ἐστι φλὸξ ἀθυμίας
ὑφ' ἧς ἀναφθεῖσ' ἐξ ἐμῶν ἐκκαυμάτων
πυρὸς κράτει ῥάϊσις ἐν ἡμῖν <ἔφυ>

1. V. Schirò, *La schedografia a Bisanzio*..., 3 (1949), 11-29; Browning, *The Patriarchal School*..., « Byzantion », 32 (1962), 173-174.

τῶν ἐν προνάοις τοῦ νεῶ τῶν Μαρτύρων.
ἐν οἷς λόγου ῥέεθρον ἀνέτως ῥέων
ἴστων λογεῖον ἐκκρότητον ἐνθάδε
καὶ τοὺς πόρους ἐκνᾶτο τῶν ἀκουσμάτων
ξύμπαν τὸ πλῆθος· ἀλλὰ χαιρέτω φθόνος
καυχήσομαι γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ, τὸ τοῦ Παύλου,
πλὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ ζέοντι τοῦ βρόμῳ,
οἷόν τις ἐμβρόντητος καὶ κεκαυμένος,
καὶ τὴν βοὴν ἄναυδος ἵσταμαι λίθος,
μικρὸν λιθωθεὶς τῷ παλαμναίῳ πάθει.
πλὴν καὶ λιθωθεὶς οὐ πεπαύσομαι βρύειν
ὅλας θαλάσσας δακρύων, τὸ τοῦ μύθου,
ἕως τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν ἐμὴν σοβεῖ τρίχα.
πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν κεκλαύσομαι·
οὐ λήσομαι γοῦν οὐδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τοῦ πάθους.

Tit. τοῦ καυθέντος 3 post καύσωνα τ vacat V το . . . σβάσω L 4 δεινὴν L post versum 6 nihil in L legi potest. 8 post ἡμῖν vacat V: exempli gratia ἔφυ conieci 13 Inter ξύμπαν et πλῆθος vacat V

Da questa poesia apprendiamo che Giorgio insegnava alla chiesa dei ss. XL Martiri, e che soffriva di una depressione nervosa, la quale venne inopinatamente sanata quando, durante un incendio nella chiesa, il maestro rimase ferito.

L'altra poesia di Giorgio, che ci è pervenuta nel codice Parigino, fu probabilmente composta come esercizio mnemonico per i suoi allievi. Eccone il testo:

Στίχοι Γεωργίου τοῦ κεκαυμένου εἰς τὰ ιβ' ζῴδια.

Κριὸς προηγός ἐστιν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρόνου,
ταῦρος δὲ ταύρῳ οἶστρος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην
ζῴων δὲ πάντων ζεῦξις ἐν τοῖς διδύμοις,
καρκίνος ἐστὶ φωσφόρος δ' ὀπισθόπους,
λέων δ' ὁ θερμὸς ἐκπύρωσις τοῦ πόλου,
ἡ παρθένος δὲ δεῖγμα τῆς γεωργίας,
ζυγὸς μετρισμὸς ἡμέρας πρὸς ἑσπέραν,
σκορπισμός ἐστι τῆς σπορᾶς ὁ σκόρπιος,
ὁ τοξότης δὲ σύμβολον κυνηγίας,
ὁ δ' αἰγόκερος ἀγρίων παρρησία,

ὑδροχόος δὲ χεῦμα τῶν ὄμβρων κάτω,
οἱ δ' ἰχθύες δήλωσις ἰχθύων γένους.

5 ἐκπύρωσιν cod. 12 δήλωσιν cod.

Di Niceta Scutariota, i cui esercizi schedografici sono conservati nei codici di Parigi e di Monaco, non si è parlato molto fra i bizantinisti. Certi manoscritti del grande omiliario di Giovanni Xifilino ne attribuiscono la compilazione allo Scutariota, il quale è caratterizzato dal Beck come « ein sonst unbekannter Niketas Skutariotes ».[1]

Ma in realtà non è così sconosciuto. Un manoscritto di Vienna, il Vindob. theol. gr. 263, conserva sui fogli 169v-198 tre omelie attribuite a Niceta Scutariota, due delle quali si trovano incorporate senza nome nel grande omiliario di Giovanni Xifilino.[2] È quindi probabile che fosse vescovo. Gli esercizi schedografici provano che fu maestro di scuola. La combinazione maestro di scuola - vescovo suggerisce l'appartenenza al corpo insegnante della Scuola Patriarcale. Infine una poesia conservata nel codice Laurenziano conv. soppr. 627, foglio 21v, ci fornisce un elemento di datazione. L'inchiostro si è scolorito, e tutto non si può leggere con certezza: pubblico qui ciò che ho potuto leggere, perché il documento sembra essere inedito.

Στίχοι τοῦ Σκουταριώτου πρὸς τὸν πορφυρογέννητον.

'Αλλ' ὦ βασιλεῦ τριπλοπορφυρο<γενές>,
πρὸς γὰρ σὲ νῦν τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ λόγου στρέφω,
'Αλέξιε κράτιστε 'Ρωμαιοκράτορ,
παῖ πατρὸς ἑπτάνακτος ἀνακτεγγόνου,
ἔρνος Κομνηνῶν οἷς τὰ Δούκων <ἐζύγη>,
πατρὸς τύπος γένοιο τοῦ βασιλέως
εἰς χεῖρας, εἰς νοῦν, εἰς ἀριστοβουλίαν,
εἰς ἀρετὴν ξύμπασαν † οἷ δὴ τῷ κράτει †,
καὶ μακρελίκτους κυκλικοὺς δόνους
συναντανάσσων τῇ τεκούσῃ συμπνόῳ,
ἣν ἡ φύσις ἤγαγε χρῆμα <χαρίεν>

1. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* ..., 629-630.
2. V.S. Eustratiades, *'Ομιλίαι εἰς τὰς κυριακὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*, I, Trieste 1903, 263-291 and 389-471.

ἐκ ῥηγοφανοῦς πριγγιπωνύμου γένους,
εἰς ἓν συναγαγοῦσα κα<λλιτεχνίας>
ψυχῶν ὅσαι γράφουσι τὴν εὐκοσμίαν,
καὶ πνευματικὸν ἐκτυποῦσι
ὅσαι τε λαμπρύνουσι σωμάτων πλάσει,
ἡ τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ
πασῶν ὑπερφέρουσα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στέφους,
ἐξ οὗπερ εὗρε λέκτρα καὶ
ἄνακτος ὃς τοῖς πᾶσι παντὸς ἐκράτει

1, 5, 11, 13 exempli gratia restitui.

Il giovane imperatore Alessio, al quale la poesia è indirizzata, non è altri che Alessio II, il figlio sfortunato di Manuele Comneno e di Maria d'Antiochia. La poesia può datarsi con certezza tra il 24 settembre 1180, quando Manuele I morì, e l'aprile 1182, quando Andronico Comneno arrivò a Costantinopoli col suo esercito. Il tono dei versi indurrebbe a datarli verso l'inizio del regno dell'imperatore - fanciullo. Senza pretendere di poter dedurre dati precisi sulla carriera dello Scutariota, si può affermare che la sua attività appartenne agli ultimi decenni del secolo dodicesimo.

È verosimile che il vescovo di Corinto, le cui opere schedografiche sono conservate nel codice Laur conv. soppr. 2, sia da identificare con Gregorio Pardo, Metropolita di Corinto, che insegnò a Costantinopoli negli anni 1120-1150.[1]

Il monaco Ioannicio non si può identificare con certezza. Ma se cerchiamo nel cerchio dei maestri della Scuola Patriarcale nel secolo dodicesimo, troviamo che tre opere di Teodoro Prodromo furono indirizzate a un certo Ioannicio monaco. Il Papadimitriu l'identificò col Ioannicio monaco che accompagnò Alessio Comneno nelle sue campagne prima della sua incoronazione. Ma come ha giustamente osservato il Každan, questa identificazione è senza fondamento.[2] Esiste anche un Ioannicio mo-

1. Browning, *The Patriarchal School* ..., « Byzantion », 33 (1963), 19-20; A. Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos, Metropolita di Corinto, e la sua opera*, Roma-Atene 1960, 23-36.
2. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* ..., 238, 330, 336; A.P. Každan, *Dva novykh vizantiiskikh pamjatnika XII stoletija*, « Viz. Vrem », 24 (1964), 63-64.

naco che sembra essere stato teologo, cui Michele Glicà indirizza un'apologia.[1]

Restano il Peribleptеno, Basilio di Cipro, Barnaba di Cipro – se veramente è da distinguere da Basilio, visti gli sbagli di lettura che formicolano su ogni pagina del catalogo di Hardt –, il vescovo di Rodi, Stefano Catotico, e Stefano di Nardò 'il maestro attuale'. Di questi non si sa niente. Un certo Paolo Catotico è dedicatario di un encomio del vino – forse si tratta di una vera lettera – nel codice Oxoniense Baroccianus 131, fol. 349v, codice che conserva un gran numero di testi retorici del secolo dodicesimo non conosciuti altrove. Stefano di Nardò deve essere un italo-greco. Di quale scuola fu maestro? E quando visse? Non si può dare una risposta definitiva. Supponiamo che Stefano insegnasse in una delle scuole sottoposte all'autorità del Patriarca (queste erano le scuole dei Quaranta Martiri, dei ss. Pietro e Paolo, della Calcopratia, di S. Teodoro ἐν τοῖς Σφωρακίου), che la sua attività si svolse dopo quella degli altri maestri menzionati nella raccolta di testi del codice Laurenziano, cioè dopo Niceta Eugeniano, Stefano di Trapezunte, Peribleptеno, Giorgio il Bruciato, Basilio di Cipro, Gregorio di Corinto, e il vescovo di Rodi, e che la raccolta fu composta sotto la sua egida, forse verso la fine del secolo dodicesimo.

Nei testi stessi troviamo parecchie precisazioni sul luogo e sulla data della loro composizione. Per esempio al foglio 277v del codice Marciano una schedografia finisce col poemetto seguente:

Ἔντατον οὐκοῦν σπαρτίον καὶ σὺ πλέκων,
ὁ γνωματευτὴς Σολομὼν καθὼς λέγει,
ὡς δεξιὰν φύσιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν φέρων,
τὴν καρδίαν δὲ συντετριμμένην ἔχων,
τὸ πᾶν κατορθώσειας ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ,
φερωνύμως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς νίκης στέφος
ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ σε κοσμήσοι μάχῃ
τῆς νικοποιοῦ συμμάχου σῆς παρθένου,
τοῦ προστάτου τε τῆς σχολῆς ταύτης Παύλου.

7 σοι cod.

1. Eustratiades, Μιχαὴλ Γλυκᾶ εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς κεφάλαια, II, Alessandria d'Egitto 1912, 348-379.

L'ultimo verso contiene evidentemente un accenno alla scuola della Chiesa dei ss. Pietro e Paolo nell'Orfanotrofio. Al foglio 291 dello stesso codice si trova un encomio del Patriarca Caritone (1178-79) attribuito a Basilio di Corcira, ci sono anche altri encomi di personaggi del tempo, per esempio di un orfanotrofo che, benché ammalato, rispose alla domanda di aiutare l'imperatore in un'impresa alla frontiera orientale (cod. Marc. fol. 277), e di un certo Giovanni protonotario e scevofilace (cod. Paris. 2556 fol. 81), attribuito a Giorgio maestro dei ss. XL Martiri (il Bruciato). Si trovano anche accenni a vittorie bizantine contro i « Perse ». Il contenuto storico dei testi pare non essere grande, ma forse uno studio più approfondito rivelerebbe anche altri accenni ad avvenimenti contemporanei, che lo stile ampolloso e spesso oscuro rende difficili a scorgere.

Un solo testo è conservato in due delle raccolte. È una schedografia attribuita a Teodoro Prodromo, che si trova nel codice Parigino ai fogli 83-84 e nel codice Monacense ai fogli 137-138.

In un articolo precedente ho presentato un elenco dei maestri superiori della Scuola Patriarcale durante il secolo dodicesimo.[1] Adesso lo studio del manoscritto Marciano ci permette di scoprire un gruppo di maestri della sezione inferiore della scuola e di conoscere i loro metodi pedagogici. Sono convinto che esistano anche altre simili raccolte di testi schedografici del dodicesimo secolo. Nessuna delle raccolte qui studiate fu riconosciuta come tale da coloro che composero i cataloghi delle rispettive biblioteche. Il Hardt pensava che si trattasse di inni liturgici! Una ricerca sistematica potrebbe aggiungere ancora molti nomi all'elenco e fornire una materia ancora più ricca per lo studio della pedagogia bizantina.

Quei testi retorico-pedagogici hanno la loro importanza. Mostrano come, in un mondo dove la rottura fra la lingua parlata e la lingua dotta andava sempre più allargandosi, si imparasse a parlare e a scrivere, e così contribuiscono alla storia della diglossia ellenica. Mostrano come, in esercizi pratici, gli allievi si familiarizzassero con la dottrina sottile della retorica classica. Fornivano il materiale della spiegazione orale del maestro, sulla

1. Browning, *The Patriarchal School*..., « Byzantion », 32 (1962), 167-202; 33 (1963), 11-40.

quale si basavano gli Erotemata posteriori, donde gli uomini della Rinascenza appresero il greco. Quindi spero che questo piccolo studio non sia indegno di apparire in un volume che commemora il quinto centenario della fondazione della Biblioteca Marciana, Biblioteca che ha avuto un ruolo così importante nello studio del greco in Italia.

XVII

HOMER IN BYZANTIUM

A good deal has been written on the debt to Homer of this or that writer or group of writers in the Byzantine world. A good example is Agne Vasilikopoulou's recent study of Homer in the literary renaissance of the twelfth century.[1] Most of these studies have failed to distinguish clearly between incidental quotation of Homeric tags, direct acquaintance with the text, and creative use of Homeric motifs – which does not always imply knowledge of the text. What is interesting is not so much who could quote Homer, or even who read him, but the purpose for which Homer was read, the place of knowledge of Homer in the life of Byzantine society, and the extent to which study of Homer led to results, direct or indirect, which go beyond the pleasure of the immediate reader.

The present paper is intended as a preliminary survey of the field in the light of these principles. It does not attempt to be exhaustive, and though textual studies will be touched upon, it is not concerned with studying the history of the text of the Homeric poems in the way in which the pupils of the late Professor Alphonse Dain have studied that of the text of many other Greek writers. In spite of the recent work of Erbse,[2] van der Valk[3] and others, the time is not yet ripe for an *Histoire du texte d'Homère.*

First, let us remember that Homer was always a schoolbook, a prescribed text, from which generation after generation learned to read with understanding.[4] A rather elementary grammatical commentary arranged alphabetically, the Ἐπιμερισμοί, was composed probably in the sixth century;[5] the latest authority quoted is John Philoponus. Constantine, the future apostle of the Slavs, finding difficulty in

[1] Agne Vasilikopoulou-Ioannidou, Ἡ *ἀναγέννησις τῶν γραμμάτων κατὰ τὸν β΄αἰῶνα εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος*, (Athens 1971-1972).

[2] H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich 1960); idem, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (*Scholia Vetera*) 1 (Berlin 1967).

[3] M. H. A. L. H. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, (Leiden 1963-1964).

[4] Rhetoricians used him as a model of eloquence too Cf. Tzetzes, *Allegories on the Iliad*, 15.37-41: *ὃς ἂν δὲ χρήζῃ μέθοδον δεινότητος μανθάνειν/καὶ θέλει ῥήτορα δεινὸν καὶ εἶναι λογογράφον/καὶ μεταφράσει χρῆσθαι δέ, τῇ καὶ μεταποιήσει/καὶ λέγων πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ δοκεῖν ὡς ἄλλα λέγειν/τὸν Ὅμηρον ἐχέτω μοι παράδειγμα τῆς τέχνης.*

[5] Ed. A. J. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia* 1 (Oxford 1835) 1-451.

understanding the Fathers of the Church, went from Thessalonica to Constantinople to pursue his education. He finished off grammar in three months, according to the Slavonic Life, and then went on to study Homer.[6] Michael, Bishop of Ephesus early in the eleventh century, learned commentator on Aristotle, pupil of Michael Psellos and friend of Anna Comnena, mentions that boys learned Homer by heart at school, thirty lines a day for the average pupil, up to fifty lines a day for the brightest.[7] A little earlier Michael Psellos, who by any standards must have been a bright pupil, began reading Homer at the age of eight, and in one year had gone through the whole of the Iliad, not only the *ἐποποιία* he tells us, but also *σχῆμα καὶ τρόπος καὶ λέξις καὶ μεταφορὰ εὔκαιρος καὶ ἁρμονία συνθήκης*.[8] Interestingly enough his daughter Styliane began her reading not with Homer, but with the Psalms,[9] for which there also existed a body of *Ἐπιμερισμοί* by George Choiroboskos.[10] Even Anna Comnena, fifty years later, was not allowed by her parents to study classical literature, and had recourse to surreptitious lessons in grammar and poetry from court eunuchs.[11] When we turn to the late Byzantine period, we find Homer still a schoolbook, though often only in selections. For instance, Manuel Moschopoulos at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century compiled a commentary on Iliad 1-2.493 as the first item in his teaching selection of classical poetry – which also included three plays each of Sophocles and Euripides, Pindar's Olympians, Hesiod's *Erga* and the first eight poems of Theocritus.[12] The form of this commentary is what the later Byzantines called a *τεχνολογία*, that is, a word for word paraphrase of the text, introducing lexical equivalents by *ἤγουν*, *ἤτοι*, *τουτέστι*, syntactical equivalents by *ἀντὶ τοῦ*, words to be understood by *δηλονότι*, and so on. Embedded in this continuous paraphrase are longer notes, either grammatical, and taken from his own *Ερωτήματα*, or dealing with synonyms, and doubtless copied from some work not yet identified.[13] Finally there are many manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries containing Book I of the Iliad followed by one play each of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, some Pindar, some Theocritus, and a brief selection of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, all accompanied by interlinear glosses and very elementary grammatical and lexical commentary. These are schoolbooks, embodying the selection of classical poetry read by a particular

[6] Cf. A. Vaillant, *Textes vieux-slaves* 1 (Paris 1968) 5.

[7] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 20 (Berlin 1892) 613 lines 4-7.

[8] C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλοθήκη 5 (Venice 1876) 14.

[9] *Ibid.* 65.

[10] Ed. T. Gaisford, *Georgii Choerobosci dictata in Theodosii Canones, necnon epimerismi in Psalmos* 3 (Oxford 1842) 1-92. On Choiroboskos cf. most recently, P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris 1971) 79-80.

[11] J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès: Lettres et discours* (Paris 1970) 243-245.

[12] Ed. I. Scherpezeel, *Homeri Iliadis lib. I-II cum scholiis Manuelis Moschopuli* (Utrecht 1719); L. Bachmann, *Scholia Lipsiensia* fasc. 3 (Leipzig 1835-1838).

[13] Typical manuscripts of the Moschopulean selection are cod. Vat. gr. 50, cod. Oxon. Laud. gr. 54, cod. Oxon. Auct. F. 3.25, cod. Neapol. Farnes. II F 9, cod. Vat. gr. 1303, cod. Vat. Urbin. gr. 140.

teacher. And they bear witness to the continuing role of Homer in elementary education, ever since, in the fifth century B.C., schoolboys had to learn by heart the meaning of *ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα* and other *Ὁμήρου γλῶτται*. The Odyssey too was read, though less often than the Iliad. There are several introductions to the Odyssey, clearly written for school purposes, perhaps in the twelfth century. Several are still unpublished. One was wrongly attributed by its editor to Nicephorus Gregoras. Here is an extract:[14]

> This godlike man makes reason his guide in all things, so that he says nothing trivial and nothing unprofitable, even though we cannot always grasp the import of his *furor poeticus*. At one moment he teaches us theology, at another reverence for god, at another he expounds the origin of the universe, at another the laws of nature whereby the elements now oppose one another and now combine together, even though he does all this behind a facade of triviality. At other times he descends, as it were, from his lofty vantage point and moves among mankind, systematizing and ordering all arts and crafts so as best to attain their ends. He endows peoples with understanding and guides their ways. He harmonizes men's souls not only with themselves but with one another. He confutes and ridicules folly, and brands ignorance and stupidity as vices alien alike to divine and human nature. In a word, he sets himself up as a public teacher of divine and human learning for all mankind.

This is the tone of voice of the encyclopedia salesman. But the author soon goes on to discuss whether Odysseus really existed, and if not, whether moral lessons could be drawn from an untrue story. This is a real problem of medieval literary criticism. In the end he dodges the issue by saying that Homer's mastery of his craft gives him moral authority even if all that he recounts is not strictly true.

Others struck a higher note in their introductory lectures. Here is how Eustathius began his course on Homer:

> It would perhaps be best to shun the Sirens of Homer by blocking one's ears with wax or turning away in another direction, so as to avoid their spell. If one does not shun them, but reads the poem, he will not pass by willingly even if many bonds restrain him, nor if he did pass by would he be grateful. . . . From Ocean flow all rivers, all springs and all wells, according to the old saying. And from Homer comes if not all at any rate much of the material of later writers. For there is no one, whether his concern be with higher things or with nature or with human affairs or with any subject of profane literature whatever it be, who has passed by Homer's hostelry without being entertained, but all have stopped there.

[14] The pseudo-Gregoras text is published by F. Matranga, *Anecdota Graeca* (Rome 1850) 520-524; extract from 521. On this and the unpublished texts cf. R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris 1926) 114-115; S. I. Kourouses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2-1355/60) (Athens 1972) 168-169.

> And some have stayed with him to the end of their days, enjoying his catering, while others have merely satisfied some need and taken something from his store to put in their own work.
>
> (EUSTATHIUS, *Comm. in Iliadem*, proem.)

Since Homer was a schoolbook, we are hardly surprised to find quotations from and allusions to Homer throughout Byzantine literature. They need not be evidence of direct acquaintance with the text of the poems. When Synesius of Cyrene, to illustrate the isolation in which his fellow citizens live, says,[15] "They know there is an emperor, for the tax-collector comes every year, but who he is they know not. Some think he is Agamemnon, son of Atreus, since this is a royal name they have known since childhood, and that he has a friend called Odysseus, bald and resourceful," he does not imply that the peasants of Cyrenaica read the Iliad. Many verses were proverbial, and were independently transmitted by the paroemiographers. Others were learned from manuals of rhetoric. But many imply acquaintance with the text on the part of the writer, and presume such acquaintance on that of the reader, particularly those whose meaning depends upon their context. A few examples will suffice to show what I mean. Arethas, Metropolitan of Caesarea in the first half of the tenth century, bibliophile, and scholar, revised and enlarged the commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Caesarea, written about A.D. 600, and published the revised version under his own name.[16] One of the things that he did to make Andrew's work more acceptable to his own polished age was to interpolate into it a number of citations from Homer and Aristotle. Arethas's older contemporary, Peter Bishop of Argos, wrote encomia upon various saints, from Anna the mother of the Virgin Mary to his own near-contemporary Athanasios Bishop of Methone.[17] These pieces of ecclesiastical oratory are decked out with a curious classical decor which is largely due to frequent Homeric quotations and allusions. The protocol of the Synod of 30 January 1166, which condemned Constantine Metropolitan of Corfu, after speaking of *ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς* 'Ισραήλ, *ὁ νέος Δαβίδ*, etc., goes on: *ἐν δὴ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τῆς Φαιάκων εἰληχὼς ἀρχιερατεύειν – ἀγνοεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅτι Κερκυραίους καλοῦσι τοὺς Φαίακας – σύμφρων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι,*[18] a typical example of the adornment of official, even ecclesiastical, documents with antiquarian erudition drawn from Homer and his commentators.

Homer, however, had not always been *salonfähig*. Radical monastic writers in the early Byzantine period often condemn study of the poems as at best frivolous and sometimes positively harmful. It is related of Saint John the Psychaite (early ninth century) that he had no need of *τῆς 'Ομήρου φλυαρίας ἢ τῆς χρυσῆς αὐτοῦ σειρᾶς ἢ*

[15] *Ep.* 148, R. Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci* (Paris n.d. [1872]) 733.

[16] PG 106.493-785.

[17] PG 104.1352-1365; J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova patrum bibliotheca* 9.3 (Rome 1888) 31-51.

[18] L. Petit, "Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 11 (1904) 481.

τοῦ ζευγνύειν καὶ ἀποζευγνύειν ἅρματα. τίς γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ὄνησις τῆς τῶν μύθων καὶ πλασμάτων καὶ δαιμονίων σεβασμάτων εἰδήσεως προσγένηται τοῖς ἐν τούτοις φυσιουμένοις,[19] A last outlier of this critique of classical culture by the burning-eyed dropouts who made the desert a city is to be found in another older contemporary of Arethas, the well-to-do Thessalonican monk John Cameniates, who wrote an account of the sack of his native city by an Arab raiding force from Crete in 904. After describing the choral singing in the great church of Saint Demetrius on feast days, he goes on: "Compared with this singing what is the mythical Orpheus, the Muse of Homer or the deceitful songs of the Sirens, adorned with lying inventions. They indeed merit no praise, for they are illusory words which seduce men and deliver them into the power of error."[20] John Cameniates was perhaps the last defender of a lost cause. Half a century after he wrote, Theodosius the Deacon celebrated the recapture of Crete from the Arabs by Nicephorus Phocas.[21] Again and again he appeals to Homer to inspire his somewhat feeble verses, calling him *Ὅμηρε, πηγὴ τῶν λόγων*. It is interesting to note that John Anagnostes, who left an eye-witness account of the capture of Thessalonica by the Turks in 1430,[22] decks his story out not only with Homeric echoes but also with direct quotations.

Another kind of Homeric reference is that by which events and personages of the writers' own time are described in terms that recall events and personages in Homer. Sophisticated Byzantine literature is full of this kind of thing. A few examples will suffice. When Constantine IX introduced his mistress Skleraina to the court for the first time, a bystander murmured *οὐ νέμεσις*, echoing the words of the Trojan elders when Helen passed by.[23] The lady, I regret to say, had to have the allusion explained to her. When Nicetas Choniates writes of the emperor Andronicus Comnenus, whose life was marked by long years of wandering and endless picturesque adventures and hairbreadth escapes, he regularly attaches to him epithets appropriate to Odysseus. He calls him *πολυμήχανος*, *πολυπλανέστατος ἀνθρώπων*, *πόλεις ἀμείψας συχνὰς καὶ πλεῖστα ἐθνῶν ἄστεα κατιδών*, and even says of him that he acts *κατὰ τὸν πολυπλανῆ καὶ πολύφρονα ἐκεῖνον ἥρωα*. The result is to convey to the reader a certain preconception of the character of Andronicus without having to spell things out.[24] A similar effect is produced when Nicetas calls Manuel I *κύδιστος μέγιστος* (206.6), echoing epithets used by Homer of Zeus and Agamemnon: or when Eustathios calls George Palaiologos *τειχεσιπλήτης* (*Expugnatio Thessalonicae* p. 86.29); or when Nikephoros Bryennios describing the pursuit of Basilakes by Alexios I cites Homeric description of the pursuit of Hector by Achilles. At another

[19] P. Van den Ven, "Vie de S. Jean le Psychaite," *Le Muséon* n.s. 3 (1902) 109.

[20] Gertrud Böhlig, *Ioannis Cameniatae de expugnatione Thessalonicae* (Berlin 1973) 12.

[21] N. M. Panagiotakes, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ* "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης," (Herakleion 1960).

[22] PG 156.609ff.

[23] Michael Psellus, *Chronographia* 6.61.

[24] Cf. Agne Vasilikopoulou, *'Ανδρόνικος ὁ Κομνηνὸς καὶ 'Οδυσσεύς*, *EEBΣ* 37 (1969-1970) 251-259.

level, the anonymous poet in the thirteenth or fourteenth century who adapted a story from the Arthurian cycle, probably from the Italian prose version of Marco Polo's amanuensis Rusticianus of Pisa – *The Old Knight*, *Ὁ πρέσβυς ἱππότης* – wove into his narrative images and effects of style borrowed from the Iliad.[25] Apart from frequent Homeric words, there are echoes of Homeric similes – for example, the Old Knight stands *ὥσπερ τις λίθος ἀκλινής, σκοπὸς τοῖς βαλομένοις* (or *βουλομένοις*) recalling the picture in Iliad 15.618 of the Achaeans standing their ground against the Trojan attack

ἠΰτε πέτρη
ἠλίβατος, μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα
ἥ τε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα
κύματά τε τροφέοντα, τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν.

Or Arthur dismissing Guinevere

ἄπιθι
γυναικωνῖτιν εὐπρεπῶς κοσμοῦσα και παιδίσκας

inevitably recalls Hector's dismissal of Andromache (Iliad 6.490ff.)

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε.
ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι.

The outcome is that the Arthurian characters are treated with a certain mocking irony lacking in the solemn original.

To return to the subject of direct quotation, George Lakapenos, schoolmaster in Thessaly in the first half of the fourteenth century, pupil of Maximus Planudes, editor of a selection of the letters of Libanius and author of a commentary on the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, one of those minor scholars and men of letters in which the late Byzantine world was so prolific, has 76 identifiable quotations of Homer in his 33 letters and the grammatical and stylistic commentaries that he wrote to accompany them.[26] The only classical writer whom he quotes more frequently is Aristophanes, not from a love of classical poetry, but from a desire to write what he fancied was pure Attic, as is shown by the next four sources from which he quotes – Synesius 55 quotations, Demosthenes 51, Libanius 44, Aelius Aristides 40. Classical Greek poetry is poorly represented – Aeschylus is cited once only, Theocritus 5

[25] Cf. P. Breillet, "La Table Ronde en Orient. Le poème grec du vieux chevalier," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 55 (1938) 318-340.

[26] Text in S. Lindstam, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII cum epimerismis Lacapeni* (Göteborg 1924). Lacapenus's life and writings are discussed at length in S. Lindstam, *Georgii Lacapeni epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae* (Uppsala 1910) ix-xxxv.

times, and even Euripides only 23 times. As for the Bible, Lakapenos quotes it only 8 times. His interest was predominantly rhetorical, yet even he could not resist the song of Homer's Sirens.

With this picture in our mind of the pervasive presence of Homer in Byzantine literature and thought, we will scarcely be surprised to find the empress Eudocia recounting the Gospel story in a patchwork of Homeric quotations,[27] or Theopylact Hephaistos, Archbishop of Bulgaria around 1100 and author of erudite and interminable commentaries on the Bible, arguing in one of his letters for the justice of God by quoting side by side Psalm 66.13-14, Iliad 24.524ff. on Zeus mixing men's destinies from two jars and Hesiod, Works and Days 179 *ἀλλ' ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν*,[28] and in his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. pausing to refute the truth of Iliad 6.488-489:

Μοῖραν δ' οὔ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν
οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.

Nor, to jump back to the sixth century, need we find it strange that dedicatory inscriptions in churches in Palestine and elsewhere were couched in Homeric verse. The priest Obodianus at Eleutheropolis writes passable hexameters, with occasional false quantities. The afflatus of his colleague Stephanus of El-Boberije does not extend beyond the first half of each hexameter, which then trails off into prose, but with epic vocabulary and morphology.[29]

We have made a preliminary survey of the place of Homer in Byzantine life. Let us now turn to our two main themes – Byzantine scholarship on Homer and the image of Homer in popular belief and imagination.

We know very little of Homeric studies in the early Byzantine period, up to and including the eighth century. There are virtually no uncial manuscripts of Homer on parchment surviving. The two exceptions are in themselves interesting. The first is the Ambrosian Iliad, recently studied with deep sensitivity and impeccable scholarship by Professor Bianchi Bandinelli.[30] It is an illustrated edition – indeed all that now survives are pictures with bits of text on the back – made in Constantinople or possibly in Alexandria about A.D. 500 by a miniaturist who put together illustrations of Homeric subjects formed by iconographic and artistic traditions of very different ages and origins, and used them to accompany a text related to that of the Venetus A. As Bianchi Bandinelli observes, in the fifth century decorative repertory Homeric subjects take the place of mythological subjects, which might have given rise to suspicions of idolatry. In particular Achilles and the events of his life, whether

[27] A. Ludwich, *Eudocia Augusta, Proclus Lycius, Claudianus* (Leipzig 1897) 79-114.
[28] PG 126.537D.
[29] *SEG* 8.119 (El-Boberije near Samaria); *SEG* 8.243 (Eleutheropolis = Beit Jebrin).
[30] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten 1955). The review of this book by K. Weitzmann, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 606-616 should also be read.

related by Homer or not, were the subject of many works of art from the fourth century onwards. It is in the context of this movement that we must seek to understand the Ambrosian Iliad, a luxury edition made for a wealthy patron. The other uncial Homer is that palimpsested about 800 in the monastery of Qarthamûn in Syria for a Syriac translation of the Monophysite theologian Severus of Antioch, a few leaves of which are now in the British Museum.[31] One wonders how many other monastic libraries had their copies of Homer side by side with their Psalters, their Evangeliaries, and their Praxapostoli. It appears that Theophilus of Edessa in the eighth century translated "two books of Homer on Ilion" into Syriac.[32] Were they the Iliad and the Odyssey or merely some mythological handbook?

A strange figure in this history of Homeric studies in the early Byzantine period is that of Demo the authoress of a commentary used by John Tzetzes and by Eustathios in the twelfth century. As she quotes Theodoret of Cyrrhus she cannot be earlier than the fifth century. She could well have written in the sixth. She commented on both Iliad and Odyssey, and dealt in allegorical exegesis of a vague physical character, drawing upon the first-century Stoic Pseudo-Herakleitos, but apparently not on Plotinus's pupil Porphyry, whose *Homeric Allegories*, intended to defend the poet against Plato's criticisms, played such a prominent role in later Byzantine Homeric scholarship, as we shall see. At the same time, if Karl Reinhardt is right, she showed common sense in distinguishing between proper and improper use of allegory.[33] One would like to know more about Demo, where she lived, how she obtained her knowledge, whether she taught pupils, and so on, for she is a welcome figure in the masculine world of Homeric scholarship. But all precision escapes us.

Be that as it may, it is not until the ninth century that we find Homeric studies once more in evidence, as part of that revival of learning often called the Macedonian renaissance, though in fact it began earlier, in the reigns of Theophilus and Michael III. The grammarian Kometas is the author of several poems preserved in the Greek anthology. He was a contemporary of Photius, a pupil of Leo the Mathematician, and held some official position as a teacher after 842.[34] His epigrams record some kind of restoration of old copies of the Iliad and Odyssey, though exactly what he did remains uncertain. The books were *οὐδαμῶς ἐστιγμένας* and he *στίξας διεσμίλευσε*; he rejected the *σάπρια* and *γράψας ἐκαινούργησε*; and his aim was that *οἱ γράφοντες* might learn correctly. It sounds like either a transcription into the new

[31] British Museum Additional MS 17210. Cf. W. Cureton, *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer from a Syriac Palimpsest* (London 1851); W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1871) 2.548. P. Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade* (Paris 1942) 40ff.

[32] Cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922) 341. A curious account of the Trojan War also occurs in an anonymous Syriac chronicle; cf. F. Nau, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 13 (1908) 90-97.

[33] Cf. A. Ludwich, "Die Homerdeuterin Demo," *Festschrift L. Friedländer* (Leipzig 1895) 296ff.; K. Reinhardt, *De graecorum theologia* (Berlin 1910) 57, 74.

[34] Cf. Lemerle (n. 10 above) 166-167, where references are given to the literature on Kometas.

minuscule hand, or the preparation of an exemplar for such a transcription. And it clearly involved questions of interpretation. How otherwise could one punctuate?

The Venetus A of the Iliad, our oldest manuscript of the entire poem, was written at the height of the Macedonian renaissance, in the early tenth century. Attempts by the late Professor Sévéryns[35] and by M. Bertrand Hemmerdinger[36] to identify the main hand have been inconclusive. But it is clearly written by – or more probably for – a scholar deeply interested in the establishment and interpretation of the text of Homer. The text, written in a large early minuscule, is marked with critical signs. Surrounding it is a solid mass of commentary, written in a smaller minuscule by the same hand. Between this commentary and the text, and also in the outer margins, there are a number of fairly lengthy notes, in the same hand, which sometimes repeat the information in the main commentary. And finally there are brief interlinear notes, still in the same hand. In other words, the manuscript is a compilation from several sources. For a variety of reasons it is beyond all doubt that the compilation was not made by the copyist of the Venetus A but by a predecessor. When and where did that predecessor work? The answer depends on an analysis of the sources from which he made his compilation. Much work has been done on this in the last century. We can identify among these sources a compilation of four late Hellenistic works on the text of the Iliad (the so-called *Viermänner-Kommentar*), the Homeric Lexicon of Apollonios Sophista, the *Etymologikon* of Orion, the Lexicon of Oros, the surviving debris of the Lexicon of Methodios, the grammatical works of George Choiroboskos, the Homeric *Epimerismi*, a lexicographical work that survives in a ninth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library, a body of exegetical commentary that displays an inclination towards allegorical interpretation, and which included considerable excerpts from the *Quaestiones Homericae* of the third century Neoplatonist Porphyrios, and so on.[37] The details are unimportant and often in dispute. What matters is that this is substantially the material that the compilers of the first and longest of the great Byzantine etymological dictionaries – the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, of which only a small part has been published – had before them. We are in the milieu of Photius and of the scholars of a generation before him, men like Leo the Mathematician and Kometas, in the second quarter of the ninth century. Who the compiler was, who the inspirer and, as we should say today, the sponsor, of this enterprise was, we do not know and will probably never know. The names of Apion and Herodorus which Eustathios in the twelfth century gives as the authors of his version of the commentary tell us nothing. But what he was doing is clear enough. He was collecting and putting together in a single text all that he could lay his hands on of the surviving Homeric scholarship of Antiquity, as a fresh starting point for the

[35] A. Sévéryns, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (1951) 279ff.

[36] B. Hemmerdinger, "Sur deux manuscrits grecs," *Revue des études grecques* 69 (1956) 433-434.

[37] Cf. H. Erbse, "Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Iliasscholien," *Mnemosyne* (1953) 25.

understanding of the poems. His interest lay not only in interpretation, allegorizing or otherwise, but also in the austere science of textual criticism. Even this is in accordance with the spirit of the age. The Patriarch Nicephorus in some of his theological works written shortly before his death in 829 notes variant readings in patristic texts and suspends judgment on questions of authenticity in the absence of manuscript evidence.[38] And, to take a trivial but amusing example, Photius was accused of having faked a pedigree of the upstart Basil I, which he wrote on an old piece of papyrus, γράμμασιν Ἀλεξανδρινοῖς, τὴν ἀρχαικὴν ὅτι μάλιστα χειροθεσίαν μιμησάμενος, bound in an old cover, and planted in the Palace Library.[39] Theological controversy had engendered a respect for documentary evidence and a realization that texts were corrupt. Indeed the very possibility of salvaging the debris of ancient Homeric scholarship may have been created by the collection and assembly in the capital of manuscripts from monasteries in the provinces in preparation for the Iconoclast Synod of 815.[40]

If, as we have suggested, the A-scholia were compiled in the same circle as the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, they were compiled before the *Etymologicum*, the author of which had before him a commentary containing all that is in our A-scholia plus something more, and which he called ὑπόμνημα Ἰλιάδος or σχόλιον. We can sometimes reconstruct this Byzantine commentary by comparison of the A-scholia and the jejune entries of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, as Erbse does in his new edition.[41] This ὑπόμνημα may have existed as a separate book.

Perhaps we can glimpse another similar compilation behind the BT-scholia. Its author was less interested in textual matters – or perhaps he had less information on them at his disposition – and more concerned with interpretation, and in particular allegorical interpretation, based largely on Porphyry. It is likely enough that there was more than one group in ninth-century Constantinople anxious to provide itself with a sound basis for the understanding of Homer.

What neither of them had was an ancient text of the poems. The Iliad text of the Venetus A is a vulgate text with occasional Aristarchaean readings that can always have been introduced from the commentary. And the battery of Alexandrian critical signs that appear in the margin of the A text are certainly not copied from ancient manuscripts of the Iliad. They are reconstructed – usually rightly but occasionally wrongly – from the information contained in the commentary. This is why one may speak of the work of the compiler as providing a starting point. These scholars did not merely copy and preserve. They hoped to go beyond the παράδοσις and

[38] Cf. P. J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953) 40, 53.

[39] *Vita S. Ignatii*, PG 105.568A.

[40] Cf. B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris 1955) 34; idem, "Une mission scientifique arabe à l'origine de la renaissance iconoclaste," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1962) 66-67; R. Browning, "Notes on the Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 403-404.

[41] H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Iliadem* I (Berlin 1969) 59, n. 93.

reconstruct the Homer of Antiquity. That they had neither the evidence nor the techniques to realize this aim does not diminish the seriousness of their intention.

What most readers wanted, however, was interpretation, not textual criticism. And they wanted interpretation that squared with what they thought they knew already. Hence the fortunes of allegory. The Byzantines were not the first to see a hidden meaning in Homer. Those who replied to the criticisms of Xenophanes probably already had recourse to this method of avoiding the horns of a dilemma. The Stoics systematized the allegorical interpretation of Homer. And the Neoplatonists made it readily available in handbooks. All that was needed to make Homer entirely acceptable to the most orthodox Byzantine taste was to combine pagan Homeric allegory with Christian Old Testament allegory.[42] And this is precisely what we find happening. Indeed a beginning had been made by Clement of Alexandria. Michael Psellos's friend and older contemporary Nicetas, a teacher in a school under the patronage of the Patriarchate, did not stick to the letter of ancient poetry or to the charm of its meter, but expounded its ἀπόθετον κάλλος. So he explained the binding of Ares as a symbol of the victory of λόγος over θυμός, and the φίλη πατρίς to which Odysseus longed to return from the island of Circe as ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, which if men forget they become as beasts.[43] Michael Psellos himself was less thorough-going. His lectures survive on three passages of the Iliad – Pandaros's bow, the Council of the Gods at the beginning of book 5 of the Iliad, and the Golden Chain.[44] Though he allegorizes all three passages in the end, as others had done before him for more than a thousand years, he reaches his goal by a discursive route, with much discussion of etymology and distinction between synonyms. This explanatory material he collects not only from lexica and from Porphyry via a version of the exegetic scholia, but also from his own wide reading, and occasionally, it must be admitted, from his imagination. For by the end of the eleventh century the Byzantine intellectual world was no longer painfully gathering together the debris of the culture of late Antiquity. Men felt at home in the civilization they had inherited. They had confidence in their own judgment and were ready to challenge the ancients and to disagree with them.

This new freedom in the handling of traditional material is more clearly seen in the work of two men who in the following century wrote at length upon Homer, Eustathios of Thessalonica, and John Tzetzes. Eustathios is an attractive character who had a long career first as a teacher at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople and later as Metropolitan of Thessalonika, where he encouraged reform of the monasteries and played a courageous part when the city was sacked by the Normans in 1185. His Παρεκβολαί on the Iliad and Odyssey – the word is a Byzantine technical term for a compilatory commentary – survive probably in autograph

[42] Cf. F. Mehmel, "Homer und die Griechen," *Antike und Abendland* 4 (1954) 16-41; P. Lévêque, *Aurea Catena Homeri* (Paris 1959); J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie* (Paris 1958).

[43] Michael Psellus, *Epitaphius in Nicetam*, in Sathas (n. 8 above) 87-96.

[44] Ed. C. Sathas, *Annuaire des études grecques* 9 (1875) 187-222.

manuscripts of their author. They are evidently the text of the lectures that he gave at the Patriarchal School before his translation in 1175.[45] He was of course a teacher of rhetoric, not of grammar, and in an earlier age would not have been concerned with Homer except as a source of striking quotations. But the boundaries were long confused. We have a description of his daily lectures from the pen of his former pupil Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens. Michael speaks of the impression produced by his wide-ranging erudition.[46] And indeed the Παρεκβολαί are fantastically discursive, the author's mind working by association of ideas. It takes him twelve quarto printed pages to dispose of Iliad 1.1. He had read everything – or so he would have us believe. In particular he had not only Byzantine exegetical commentaries on Homer but also a version, fuller than that surviving in the Venetus A, of the ninth-century compilation of textual scholarship. It must have been similar to the ὑπόμνημα used by the compilers of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*. He attributes this commentary – which must in his library have been a separate book, not a set of notes in the margin of a text – to Apion and Herodorus. The names tell us nothing. In any case Eustathios was a compulsive name dropper. His interest in the criticism of the text, which is rather desultory, is evidence of the seriousness with which he tackled the elucidation of Homer. Equally revealing is the way in which he constantly seeks illustration from his own experience. The spoken Greek of his time, the customs of peasants and townsmen around him, popular beliefs, recent events, are all made to shed light on the poems. Homer in a sense belonged to the same world as Eustathios, and his poetry could be understood by accumulation of information and exercise of reasoning.

John Tzetzes is a very different character. His career marred at the outset by a mysterious error of judgment in which the wife of a provincial governor was involved, he lived the life of a poor scholar, sometimes obliged to sell even his books and to rely on his memory. He wrote on everything, for a variety of patrons, and is one the first men in European society to live by his pen.[47] Three works are particularly concerned with Homer. First his commentary on the Iliad. Intended as a schoolbook, to supply the explanation for the thirty to fifty lines learned daily, it is one of Tzetzes's early works, composed about 1140, when he was no more than thirty years of age. It is much earlier than the great commentaries on Aristophanes and Lycophron but shows some of the same independence of view and readiness to take issue with the giants of the past. The scale is large, like that of Eustathios's commentary. Allegory is Tzetzes's staple, but he backs it up with a pyrotechnic display of not always wholly relevant erudition, gathered from lexica, from exegetical scholia, from a fuller version of the Venetus A scholia – perhaps the same book

[45] M. H. A. L. H. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* 1 (Leiden 1971) 50.

[46] S. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα 1 (Athens 1879) 287.

[47] On Tzetzes's life cf. C. Wendel, "Tzetzes," *RE* 7A (1948) 1960-1965.

as Eustathios used a generation later – and from his own wide reading and retentive memory. The commentary does not survive entire, and may never in fact have been completed. Only that on the first 102 lines of Book 1 has been published, and that twice.[48] The complete commentary on Book 1 is preserved in a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is remarkable that no Cambridge scholar has yet seen fit to produce an *editio princeps*. It might yield interesting fruit. A French scholar recently edited a number of new fragments of Hipponax from the unpublished part of the commentary.[49]

A work of a different kind, aimed at a different class of reader, are Tzetzes's Homeric Allegories, of which the full text has recently become available.[50] These are two long poems in fifteen syllable accentual verse – the so-called political verses – dedicated to the empress Irene, consort of Manuel I. Irene was born Bertha of Sulzbach, sister-in-law of the Hohenstaufen emperor Conrad III. Brought as a young woman to the dazzling court of Constantinople, she sought an easy introduction to the greatest poet of her new country. Tzetzes supplied it. A long prologue on Homer's birthplace and life, and on the background of the Trojan War, from Hecuba's dream and the birth of Paris, sketches of the leading characters in the Trojan War, and a summary of the plot of the Iliad, are followed by a paraphrase of the story line, accompanied sometimes by allegorical explanations, often at different levels simultaneously – physical, moral, and historical – and every now and then by a display of usually irrelevant learning on such topics as the Nile flood, the philosophy of Anaxagoras, or the Roman augur's staff. The bewildered princess would be familiar with this kind of interpretation of the Bible. Problems of textual criticism and citations of rare authors were above her head.

The Homeric Allegories already treat of matters preceding or following those narrated in the poems. The natural curiosity of man had already called forth a variety of literature purporting to fill up gaps in the story as told by Homer, beginning with the Cyclic epics, and going on to Hellenistic mystifications like the diaries of the Trojan War surviving in Latin translation under the names of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian. This is not the kind of thing scholars worry about. It is rather evidence for the widespread reading of Homer by ordinary men and women. The middle Byzantine world had a healthy appetite for this kind of background to Homer, an appetite to which the third of Tzetzes's works ministered, the *Carmina Iliaca*. These are three hexameter poems summarizing events before, during, and after the Iliad, from the Rape of Helen to the Sack of Troy. The material came ultimately

[48] G. Hermann, *Draconis Stratonicensis liber de metris poeticis, Ioannis Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* (Leipzig 1812); L. Bachmann, *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* 1 (Leipzig 1835).

[49] O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962) 42 52.

[50] Published in part by Matranga (n. 14 above) 43-295, and J. F. Boissonade, *Tzetzae Allegoriae Iliadis* (Paris 1857). The Allegories on the second half of the Odyssey were published almost simultaneously by H. Hunger, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 49 (1956) 249-310 and by Franca Finocchiaro, *Boll. Com. per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici gr. e lat.* n.s. 5 (1957) 45 61.

from the Cyclic poems and Attic drama. The immediate sources were probably Quintus of Smyrna, Tryphiodorus, and the early Byzantine chroniclers.

A contemporary of Tzetzes went further. Isaac Porphyrogenitus, who is to be identified with Isaac Comnenus, son of Alexius I, brother of Anna Comnena, and father of the quixotic Andronicus I, wrote a short prose work in very affected classicizing Greek, *Περὶ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου*,[51] in which he begins with the capture of Troy by Herakles and the Amazons, and its rebuilding by Laomedon, deals at length with Hecuba's dream before the birth of Paris and with Paris's childhood and youth, and carries the story on to the Sack of Troy and the return of Agamemnon and Menelaus. This information the learned prince claims to have extracted from *διάφορα παλαιῶν βιβλία* and speaks repeatedly of the labor involved in its compilation. In fact most of it comes from Dictys and Dares, via the Byzantine chroniclers. Attached to the work on what Homer did not tell is another, shorter treatise, even more indicative of popular interest in Homer. It is a series of *χαρακτηρίσματα* of the principal Greeks and Trojans, rather after the manner of police descriptions of wanted men, for example, *Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων μέγας ἦν, λευκός, εὔρωπος, δασυπώγων, μελάνθριξ, μεγαλόφθαλμος, ἀπτόητος, εὐγενής, μεγαλόψυχος*. Such characterizations already existed for the principal biblical figures from Adam to Saint Paul and for the Fathers of the Church. They appear in the *Chronicle* of Malalas, in Tzetzes's *Allegories* and elsewhere, and ultimately go back to Dares and Dictys. They are connected with the science of physiognomonics, and had their influence on the iconographic tradition of Byzantine art.

It is interesting to see how the middle Byzantines envisioned the heroes of Homer. Achilles of course was tall, blond, slender and so on, but he was also *gunaikoprosopos*. Patroclus, surprisingly, was *prokoilios*, but otherwise good looking. Odysseus is sometimes bald, sometimes *progastor*. Hector was *heterophthalmos*, which must be used in its Byzantine sense of "with eyes of different colors." Such men were often credited with supernatural powers.

Among the strange pieces of information that we pick up from these para-Homeric texts is that Paris, as a young man, studied rhetoric and wrote a poem on cosmogony. This is a typical product of the schoolmasterly mind. The not very edifying story of the Judgment of Paris seems to have been explained allegorically in Hellenistic times as meaning that Paris composed a treatise or poem arguing that love is more powerful than wisdom or strength. In due course the poem was even written for him, though it has since perished. One finds traces of this allegorical interpretation in Sallustius's *Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*. Even this was too much for the schoolroom. Love, as every philosopher knew, is the principle that makes the elements cohere together and form the physical world. So Paris is made to while away his idle hours on Mount Ida by writing a philosophical poem on the origin of the universe.

Before we leave the brilliant and civilized world of twelfth-century Constan-

[51] Ed. H. Hinck, *Polemonis Declamationes* (Leipzig 1873) 59-88.

tinople, let us glance at the work of one other Homeric scholar, whose name we shall never know. A group of manuscripts of the Iliad belonging to the thirteenth century or later contains many Alexandrian readings not in the Vulgate text. Walter Leaf believed that a manuscript might actually have survived from Hellenistic times to be copied in the Constantinople of the Comneni.[52] Allen realized that the interesting readings in these manuscripts are selected from those mentioned in the scholia, but thought of this as occurring by chance, since Byzantine scholars were supposed to be uninterested in textual criticism.[53] Erbse has recently shown that the archetype of this group was edited by an unknown scholar, probably of the twelfth century, who used the fuller version of the Venetus A scholia, which Tzetzes and Eustathios consulted, to try to reconstruct the Homeric text of the Alexandrians by careful comparison of the recorded variants;[54] which is after all just what a modern editor of Homer does.

The Latin capture of Constantinople and the breakup of the Byzantine empire destroyed the conditions in which a Eustathios or a Tzetzes could flourish. But Homeric scholarship continued. In the Nicaean empire Michael Senacherim, teacher of rhetoric, imperial secretary, and later army commander and senior minister, composed a commentary on Homer, as yet unpublished.[55] It is said to be largely allegorical and of little interest. Manuel Moschopoulos's commentary on the first two books of the Iliad we have already met. His contemporary John Pediasimos, commentator on Theocritus, writer on mathematics and archivist of the cathedral at Ohrid, composed an allegorizing companion to the first four books of the Iliad. [illegible] George Lekapenos, the Thessalian schoolmaster whom we found citing Homer so frequently, may be the author of treatises on grammar and figures of speech in Homer, again unpublished.[57] This late Byzantine material, of which these are only a few examples, is a trackless jungle in which the first voyages of exploration have yet to be made. What the explorers will find will be mostly derivative and low-level exegesis for schoolboys. But there may well be more. For Homer was still read by men of great learning, such as the copyist of the Geneva manuscript of the Iliad, with its long and learned commentary, or George Chrysococces, doctor from Trebizond

[52] W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, ed. 2 (London 1902) 2, xxii-xxiii.

[53] T. W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford 1931) 1.210-216; cf. also G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence 1934) 212-213.

[54] Erbse (n. 2 above) 184-209.

[55] Cf. Amadeus Peyron, *Notitia librorum . . . qui donante Ab. Thoma Valperga-Calusio u. cl. illati sunt in reg. Taurinensis Athenaei bibliothecam* (Leipzig 1820) 23; Anon. "Senacherim," *Rheinisches Museum* 18 (1863) 447; M. A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskago dvora v XIII veke* (Prague 1927) 133; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford 1974) 160, 161, 180, 296.

[56] Cf. S. I. Kourouses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου 1 (Athens 1972) 269, n. 2.; D. M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Church and Hellenic Learning in the Fourteenth Century," *Studies in Church History* 5 (1969) 38-39.

[illegible] Cf. Lindstam, *Epistulae X priores* (n. 26 above) xxii-xxiii.

and author of works on astronomy embodying material translated from Persian, who copied the Odyssey in his own hand in 1336 (cod. Vat. Pal. 7).[58]

I now pass to my final topic, the impact of Homer on the popular imagination. Achilles was a figure who lived on in the memory of the Greeks almost as did Alexander the Great. We know from the emperor Julian that libations were still offered at his tomb by the Scamander in the fourth century A.D. by no less a person than the bishop of Ilium.[59] And when, 900 years later, the austere and crotchety monk Nicephorus Blemmydes visited a church by the same Scamander he was horrified to find among the figures in the frescoes that of a young warrior bearing the legend "The Prophet Achilles."[60] In his native Thessaly too he was not forgotten. The popularity of Saint Achilles, who had been bishop of Larissa in the fourth century, probably owed something to his bearing the name of the leader of the Myrmidons. He appears as a supernatural guide and counselor as late as the sixteenth century.[61] Achilles is the hero of a vernacular Greek epic poem of the late Byzantine period.[62] The story it tells has little to do with Homer. It is substantially that of another Greek folk hero, Digenis Akritas. Only at the end, and only in one of the versions, is a short appendix summarizing the events of the Trojan war. Yet the poet knows Homer and claims to draw upon him. And there are some strange echoes. For instance in the Byzantine poem Polyxena says to Achilles:

Πατέρας καὶ μητέρα μου ἡ αὐθεντία σου εἶναι
καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ φῶς μου καὶ ζωή μου.
(vv. 1268-1269)

Had the poet in mind Andromache's moving words to Hector:

Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης.
(Iliad 6.429-430)

Constantine Hermoniakos was court poet and probably court physician to John II Komnenos Angelodoukas, Despot of Epirus circa 1330. John was an unsavory adventurer, whose real name was Orsini, who reached his throne by murdering his brother and lost it by being murdered by his wife. But he was a patron of letters in his way. And it was at his command that Hermoniakos composed his *Metaphrasis* of the Iliad into the vulgar tongue.[63] This is possibly the worst poem ever written in the

[58] Cf. S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1970) 52-53, 89; E. Janssens, *Trébizonde en Colchide* (Brussels 1969) 188.
[59] Julian, *ep.* 19.
[60] N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistolae* (Florence 1898) 310.
[61] Cf. F. Barišić, *Čuda Dimitrija solunskog kao istoriski izvori* (Belgrade 1953) 26.
[62] Ed. D. C. Hesseling, *L'Achilléide byzantine* (Amsterdam 1919).
[63] Ed. E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* 5 (Paris 1890). On John II cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (London 1972) 184-185.

Greek language. Composed in vernacular Greek with a copious admixture of learned forms, generally used without any grasp of their meaning or structure, it is written in the Hiawatha meter, a distant epigone of the anacreontic. When he is short of syllables, the poet ekes out his line with γε, γάρ, or γοῦν. Only about half of the poem is made up from Homeric material. The rest, in which Hermoniakos deals with the life of Homer, the birth and upbringing of Paris, the kidnapping of Helen, the assembly of the Greeks, the Trojans' search for allies, the love of Achilles and Polyxena, the death of Achilles, the quarrel over his arms, the wooden horse, the sack of Troy, the fate of the Trojan women, is derived from Tzetzes and from the Byzantine chroniclers. An example of this last is the Trojan request for help from the prophet David, a request promptly refused because the Trojans were idolaters. The same curious story occurs in the sixth-century Chronicle of John Malalas. It depends on chronological links established by early christian scholars. Some have thought – and they may well be right – that Hermoniakos had never read Homer at all, but only a prose paraphrase of the Iliad. The surge and thunder is gone. But something of Homer's grandeur remains, to be grasped by the unlettered. The inept work had its readers. Three manuscripts survive. And long after the fall of Constantinople a revised version was made by Nikolaos Loukanis and printed in Venice in 1526, without overt acknowledgment of the debt to Hermoniakos.

Very different from Hermoniakos's paraphrase and of far higher quality is a vernacular poem on the Trojan war in fifteen-syllable meter preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, edited for the first time a few years ago in a Ph.D. thesis by Dr. Dimitrios Dedes, and to be published soon. Here too the genuine Homeric material occupies only a part of the poem. The rest deals with the by now familiar pre-Homeric and post-Homeric episodes. The birth and childhood of Paris are treated in particular detail, and with a wealth of invention. The infant Paris is set adrift in a casket on the sea which is found by a citizen of Tarsos named Selenios. Elected leader of a band of children, he is hauled before King Priam for a youthful peccadillo. Priam recognizes the lad as his son, and he and Hecuba shut him up in a castle. His violent conduct causes a riot among the Trojans, and Paris has to flee for his life. He is shipwrecked and given shelter by three monks. Now Helen is introduced, and the story of her suitors and her marriage to Menelaus told. Soon Paris is made commander-in-chief, on the strength of his prowess at the joust. One evening at dinner he helps Helen with her music, and they fall in love. Menelaus goes to visit a distant castle, leaving Paris in charge of his palace. He and Helen consummate their love. When Helen becomes pregnant they decide to leave for Troy, taking all Menelaus's wealth with them.

The Greek chiefs assemble to support Menelaus and the Trojan war begins. Achilles, offended at the loss of Chryseis, disguises himself as a woman and lives unnoticed in the Greek camp until discovered by a stratagem. The war goes on, with many notable single combats. Achilles kills Hector. Priam and Paris offer Achilles the hand of Polyxena, and Achilles enters Troy to claim his bride, only to be slain by Paris and Deiphobos. The angry Greeks build the wooden horse and withdraw. The Trojans take the horse into the city, the Greeks return and Troy is put to fire and

sword. Achilles's body is recovered and buried at the Hexamilion.[64] While the fleet is hindered from sailing by adverse winds, Achilles appears to the Greeks in a dream and tells them they must sacrifice Priam and his family. This the Greeks do on the next day, and the fleet sails for home. The poem concludes with a lament for Achilles, what would be called in Greece today ■ *μοιρολόγι*, and with some reflections on the inevitability of death.

It is hardly likely that our poet had ever read Homer in spite of his claim to have done so. His material comes from Tzetzes, from the chronicle of Manasses, perhaps from Hermoniakos. And he has introduced material from the story of Apollonios king of Tyre and probably from some of the vernacular Greek romances of chivalry. There is much coincidence of expression and manner with the Byzantine Achilleid, including lines common to both texts, and with later Greek folk poetry. Whether this is oral poetry I leave to wiser heads to decide. But it is certainly poetry for a popular audience, for men who have little acquaintance with Greek literary tradition and who care nothing for textual criticism or edifying interpretation, but for whom the name of Homer and the story of Troy still retain their magic.

Homer was a closed book to the Western world in the Middle Ages. But through the Latin versions of Dictys and Dares, the Latin Little Iliad, Ovid's *Heroides*, and the like, men had some knowledge of the tale of Troy. Out of this, in the later Middle Ages poets fashioned a story that was chivalrous rather than heroic in tone. The culmination of this development was the Old French *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure (fl. ca. 1150), which begins with the landing of the Argonauts and carries the tale down to the return of the Greek heroes.[65] It is Benoît, with his interest in romantic passion, who first tells the story of Prince Troilus and the faithless Briseida (whom Boccaccio transformed into Criseida). The French knights and men-at-arms who set up their principalities and dukedoms in Greek lands after the Fourth Crusade brought Benoît's poem with them. A generation or so later their bilingual courts became centers of translation and adaptation of western European vernacular literature into Greek. It was probably in the fourteenth century that someone – we know neither who he was nor where he lived – produced a Greek version of the *Roman de Troie*. Its attraction would lie not only in the additional information it contained, but in a moral tone and social values more in accord with the spirit of the age. The translation is fairly close, though here and there the Greek poet omits or embroiders on passages. The difference in length – 11,000 lines in Greek, 30,000 in Old French – is largely accounted for by the difference in length of line – 8 syllables in French, 15 in Greek – but also to some degree by the tautness of the Greek compared with the rather diffuse Old French. The translator, though no Homer, was a skilled craftsman working in a traditional medium in which he was

[64] On this wall built across the Isthmus of Corinth by Manuel II in 1415 cf. Nicol (n. 60 above) 343; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1964) 311-316.

[65] Ed. L. Constans, *Le Roman de Troie*, 6 vols. (Paris 1904-1912).

entirely at home. His language is that of the medieval Greek ballads of chivalry, basically spoken Greek, colored by the prestigious literary tradition. He clearly did not know Homer, and indeed had little acquaintance with classicizing Greek literature at all, as is shown by the strange forms that he gives to his heroes' names, transliterated from Old French – *Ἑκούβα, Ἀνδρόμυθα*. But he satisfied his public. There are at least five manuscripts of this long poem – by far the longest in Byzantine vernacular Greek. Only a few hundred lines have been published, and that from a single manuscript.[66] Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffreys of the Dumbarton Oaks Center is now engaged on the preparation of a critical edition of the complete text, which will be a major contribution to our knowledge of Greek language and literature in the Middle Ages and to our understanding of the development of European culture.

The Latins were not the only foreigners to be captured by the tale of Troy. A few years after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror passed through Troy and visited the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. He praised them for their memorable exploits and congratulated them because they had Homer to sing their praises.[67]

[66] D. I. Mavrophrydes, Ἐκλογὴ *μνημείων τῆς νεωτέρας* Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης 1 (Athens 1866) 183-211.

[67] Critoboulos 4.11.5.

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